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A GRAMMAR OF MODERN TAMIL

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Preface

For a long time the need has been felt for a comprehensive linguistic description of Modern Literary Tamil. To fulfill this need, at least on the morphological and syntactic level, the Pondicherry Institute of Linguistics and Culture has started its series of publications with the present work. It is hoped that the data and analyses in this grammar will not only add new dimensions, providing new insights into the grammatical structure of Tamil, but also stimulate the much needed further research in this area.

L. Joseph Mariadoss

Hon'ble Minister of Education,
Government of Pondicherry,
Chairman, Pondicherry Institute
of Linguistics and Culture

Introduction

Tamil, the major Dravidian language, has a literary history of more than two thousand years. In this period of time, several forms of the language are distinguished: Old Tamil (200 BC to AD 700), Middle Tamil (AD 700 to 1600), and Modern Tamil (AD 1600 to present). By using the term Modern Tamil, we restrict ourselves here, however, to that form of the Tamil language which has been used since the introduction of prose into the Tamil literature in the last century, when the spread of printed mass media began.

Being a typical example of what is known as 'diglossia', Tamil—in all its forms—distinguishes between a literary variety, used for writing and formal speech, and a spoken variety, used in everyday conversation and conversational parts of prose literature. Thus, in the medium of speech as well as in the medium of writing both varieties occur in co-existence.

The differences between the spoken and the literary variety of Modern Tamil exist on all linguistic levels: in particular on the phonological and lexical levels, to a lesser degree on the morphological level, and still less on the syntactic level. These differences can be related by a set of rules.

The spoken variety of Modern Tamil comprises a large number of dialects varying on two dimensions: the geographical and the social. The latter reflects caste variations. Dialects differ mainly on the phonological, morphological, and lexical levels. Among the large variety of dialects, a form called standard spoken Tamil has emerged, which is used, for example, in movies, radio plays, conversational parts of novels, when no regional or social dialect features should be implied. This standard form of spoken Tamil comes close to the dialect of the educated non-Brahmin speech of the central region (Thanjavur, Trichy) and is also that form of the spoken variety of Modern Tamil which is nearest to the literary variety.

The literary variety of Modern Tamil does not have as many variations as the spoken variety and is thus more standardized. Nevertheless, within the literary variety there are at opposite poles two extreme styles: the pure style and the modern style.

At the time of the introduction of prose writing into Tamil literature

during the last century, the Tamil language had been influenced by Sanskrit to a considerable extent. Consequently, a puristic movement arose, which propagated a pure style of Tamil. This style is characterized by the avoidance of Sanskrit words, the use of indigenous Tamil words, the use of grammatical forms of Old and Middle Tamil, and in particular a rigorous application of morphophonemic (sandhi) rules.

On the other hand, there is a modern style, which has evolved due to the influence of the spoken variety on the literary variety. This style is characterized by the use of non-native words—in particular English loan words, the use of grammatical forms of the spoken variety, and the reduced application of morphophonemic (sandhi) rules.

What might now be called the standard form of the literary variety of Modern Tamil exists inbetween the pure and the modern style and is subject to the influence by both styles. In some cases it is left to the individual writer or speaker whether or not he accepts the use of grammatical forms, lexical items, and the application of rules of grammar, which are peculiar to one of the above two styles. For example, regarding the verbal participle form of the verb *il* 'be not', a writer or speaker may use the Old Tamil form of the pure style *iṉ-ṟi*, or the form of the modern style *ill-aa-mal*. Or, using the plural form of the noun *naaḷ* 'day', which is formed by the affixation of the plural suffix *-kaḷ* to the noun stem, a writer or speaker may apply the sandhi rule as used in Old Tamil, according to which the final lateral of *naaḷ* changes into the retroflex plosive, as in *naaṭ-kaḷ*, or he may avoid the application of this sandhi rule, as in *naaḷ-kaḷ*. As a result, the so-called standard form of the literary variety of Modern Tamil is not absolutely codified.

This grammar has been written to present a comprehensive description of the morphological and syntactic structure of the literary variety of Modern Tamil. The principal emphasis is on syntax.

While several areas of Tamil grammar have been investigated so far, there are still a number of areas which await a detailed analysis and which have unsolved grammatical problems. One example is grammatical categories. The grammatical literature, for instance, is not certain how many parts of speech should be distinguished in Modern Tamil, or whether there is a category of a complementizer. There are word forms, like the noun + *-aaka* or noun + *-aaṉa* constructions, whose categorical status is far from clear. With this background, the present monograph has been written to provide a description of the over-all system of the grammar and its structures, of which many require a detailed investigation. An attempt has been made to refer, in each case, to an analysis available in the grammatical literature and, wherever possible, to give a new and alternative analysis.

Acknowledgements

As in the case of most books, this monograph bears the name of one author, but many people contributed in many ways to its preparation. Here I would like to acknowledge the most important of them.

To begin with, I want to acknowledge the institutional support which I have received over the past years and which made my research and this publication at all possible. I am grateful to the Chairman of the Pondicherry Institute of Linguistics and Culture, L. Joseph Mariadoss, Hon'ble Minister of Education, Government of Pondicherry, for awarding me a research associateship, under which I carried out this work. I am also indebted to him, as well as to S. Krishnan, Vice-Chairman of this Institute and Secretary of Education, Government of Pondicherry, and Mathew Samuel, Director of Education, Government of Pondicherry, for undertaking its publication. Further, I owe a special debt of gratitude to the Director of the Pondicherry Institute of Linguistics and Culture, N. Muthukrishnan, who provided me with all facilities and arranged for the publication of this monograph.

My primary acknowledgement is due to those who contributed with their scholarship to this work. The following persons I wish to single out.

M. Shanmugam Pillai, former Professor and Head of the Department of Tamil, Madurai Kamraj University, and now Editor-in-chief of the Greater Lexicon, Tamil University, Thanjavur, was not only one of my Tamil teachers, who introduced me to the study of Tamil grammar, but, above all, urged me also to write this grammar and guided me during most of the time I was working on it. Without him I would not have become a Tamil linguist.

K. Paramasivam, former Professor and Head of the Department of Tamil, American College, Madurai, initiated me also into the study of the Tamil language and was one of my chief informants, providing me with a great deal of data for this grammar.

R. Kothandaraman, Professor of Linguistics, International School of Dravidian Linguistics, Trivandrum, has generously permitted me to tap his knowledge of the Tamil language, literature, and grammatical tradition

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Sanford B. Steever discussed with me several aspects of complementation—the most interesting area of Tamil grammar—and and this helped me in my analysis.

Thanks are also due to my colleague M. Murugesan, who has provided me with many examples and judgments of grammaticality.

Finally, I would like to thank E. Annamalai, Deputy Director, Central Institute of Indian Languages, Mysore, and K. Rangan, Professor of Linguistics, Tamil University, Thanjavur, for reading the manuscript.

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Note on transcription

The system used here to transcribe the data of Modern Literary Tamil into Roman script follows the transliteration system of the Madras University Tamil Lexicon, with the following two exceptions.

1. Long vowels are represented by double letters, e.g. *aa*, *ii*, instead of by a single letter with a macron over it. The reason for this is that the use of geminated letters provides a better visual impact for the vowel-length distinction and reflects also the fact that in some cases the Tamil script uses an additional grapheme to distinguish long from short vowels.

2. The retroflex aproximant is represented by *ẓ* instead of by ḻ. This has been done so that (i) this phoneme is symbolized as different from laterals and (ii) retroflexion is uniformly indicated by a dot underneath the respective consonant.

Table of transliteration

Vowels	அ = *a*		ஆ = *aa*
	இ = *i*		ஈ = *ii*
	உ = *u*		ஊ = *uu*
	எ = *e*		ஏ = *ee*
		ஐ = *ai*	
	ஒ = *o*		ஓ = *oo*
		ஔ = *au*	
Consonants	க் = *k*		ங் = *ṅ*
	ச் = *c*		ஞ் = *ñ*
	ட் = *ṭ*		ண் = *ṇ*
	த் = *t*		ந் = *n*
	ப் = *p*		ம் = *m*
	ய் = *y*		
	ர் = *r*		
	ல் = *l*		
	வ் = *v*		
	ழ் = *ẓ*		
	ள் = *ḷ*		
	ற் = *ṟ*		
	ன் = *ṉ*		
Sanskrit letters	ஜ = *j*		
	ஷ் = *ṣ*		
	ஸ் = *s*		
	ஹ் = *h*		
	க்ஷ் = *kṣ*		

Symbols and abbreviations

A hyphen used in Tamil data marks the following phoneme as bound form, e.g. as suffix. Example: *-ai* in *paiyaṉ-ai* is a suffix. In the case of bound forms occurring as pro-clitics the hyphen follows the phoneme, as in *a-*. Similarly, in the morphological gloss the hyphen marks the following morpheme as bound form.

A dot used in Tamil data indicates that the following phoneme or phoneme cluster is not a suffix, but the result of the operation of a morphophonological rule (sandhi rule) or of the operation of the morphological process of reduplication. Example: in *inta·p peṭṭi·y-ai·t tuukku* 'lift this box', *p* in *inta·p* is a phoneme added to the word *inta* 'this' due to the operation of a morphophonological rule. Similarly in *peṭṭi·y-ai·t*, *y* is a phoneme which is inserted as a glide between two vowels, and *t* is a phoneme added to the word *peṭṭi·y-ai* as result of the operation of a morphophonological rule.

( ) parentheses used in Tamil data indicate optional occurrence of the element enclosed.

[ ] Square brackets used with Tamil data (i) mark syntactic constituents and (ii) enclose phonetic symbols.

/ { A slash and brace brackets are used to indicate alternative or free variation of elements.

\+ A plus-sign used in the morphological gloss indicates that the respective morphemes connected are realized by one morph, e.g. one suffix, on the phonological level. For example, in

var-um
come-fu+3sn

the two morphemes of future tense abbreviated as 'fu' and third person-singular-neuter abbreviated as '3sn' are realized phonologically by one suffix: *-um*.

*	An asterisk used in Tamil data and English translations signifies ungrammaticality or unacceptance of the following language data.
/ /	Slants enclose phonemic symbols.
→	An arrow means 'consists of' or 'results in'.

The following abbreviations are used in the morphological gloss:

1s	first person singular
2s	second person singular
3sm	third person singular masculine
3sf	third person singular feminine
3sn	third person singular neuter
3sh	third person singular epicene honorific
1pl	first person plural
2pl	second person plural
3pl	third person plural epicene
3pln	third person plural neuter
abl	ablative case marker
acc	accusative case suffix
adj	adjectival/adjectivalizing suffix
adv	adverbializing suffix
ben	benefactive case marker
caus	causative suffix
co	co-ordinating clitic
comp	complementizing clitic
conc	concessive suffix
cond	conditional suffix
dat	dative case suffix
dub	dubitative clitic
emph	emphatic clitic
euph	euphonic suffix
fu	future tense suffix
gen	genitive case suffix
imm	immediacy clitic
imp	imperative morpheme

incl	inclusive clitic
ind	indefinite clitic
inf	infinitive suffix
inst	instrumental case suffix
loc	locative case marker
neg	negative morpheme
nom	nominalizing suffix
obl	oblique suffix
(obl)	oblique form
opt	optative suffix
ord	ordinal suffix
pl	plural suffix
pst	past tense suffix
pres	present tense suffix
Q	interrogative clitic
soc	sociative case marker
supp	suppositional clitic
top	topicalizing clitic
vbp	verbal participle suffix

Finally note that Tamil verbs occurring in non-lexical usage as grammatical verbs, e.g., aspectual or modal auxiliary and complementizing verbs, are not glossed with an abbreviation representing the grammatical category expressed by the respective verb, e.g. perf for perfective aspect or comp for complementizing function, but with the lexical meaning of the verb, even though that meaning is not present in that case.

Note on phonology

Tamil phonology will only be dealt with very briefly. For a more detailed description see, for example, Asher (1982:209-241).
The inventory of phonemes in Tamil consists of twelve vowels and sixteen consonants.

i) vowels.
The prominent feature of Tamil vowels is the distinction of short and long vowels, which occur in five pairs:

/a/	/aa/
/e/	/ee/
/i/	/ii/
/o/	/oo/
/u/	/uu/

Apart from these pairs of short and long vowels, Tamil has two dipthongs:

/ai/
/au/

ii) consonants.
One of the caracteristic features of Tamil consonants is retroflexion, which is to be found among all types of consonants. The following types of consonants are distinguished in Tamil.

Stops. There are six voiceless stops:

labial	/p/
dental	/t/
retroflex	/ṭ/
palatal	/c/
velar	/k/
alveolar	/ṟ/

Of these the first five voiceless stops /p, t, ṭ, c, k/ occur initially and in gemination. They have voiced variants /b, d, ḍ, j, g/ which occur intervocalically and after their homorganic nasal. The status of the sixth stop /ṟ/ is more complicated. This phoneme is represented by the grapheme ṟ. The latter is just a variant of the grapheme r, which expresses the alveolar tap /r/. However, when the grapheme ṟ occurs in gemination as in -ṟṟ- or is preceded by ṉ, it does not represent the alveolar tap /r/, but the alveolar stop /ṟ/. Moreover, in both cases /ṟ/ is pronounced with tapped release as [ttr] and [ndr] respectively. Examples: /kaaṟṟu/ 'wind' [kaattru] and /oṉṟu/ 'one' [ondru].

Nasals. There are four nasals:

labial /m/
dental /n/
retroflex /ṇ/
palatal /ñ/

Among these the dental nasal /n/ has graphemically three variants *n*, *ṅ* and *ṉ* which occur in a specified context: *n* occurs initially and before the dental stop /t/, *ṅ* occurs before the velar stop /k/, and *ṉ* occurs finally and in other clusters.

Laterals. There are two laterals:

alveolar /l/
retroflex /ḷ/

Glides. There are two glides:

labial /v/
palatal /y/

Taps. There is one alveolar tap:

/r/

Approximants. Peculiar to Tamil is a retroflex approximant:

/ẓ/

Finally this inventory of phonemes is augmented by the following consonants occurring in Sanskrit loan words:

retroflex sibilant /ṣ/
palatal sibilant /s/
velar glide /h/
palatal stop /j/

Chapter 1

Morphology

1.0
Introduction

The analysis of word structure distinguishes between the semantic structure of words—the parts of the word's meaning—and the formal structure of words—the parts of the phonemic shape of the word. To represent this distinction in our discussion of Tamil word structure, we will adopt the concept of morphemes and morphs—see, for example, Lyons (1968:180)—and outline it here in brief. In words like 'cats' and 'buses' the meaning of the respective words can be decomposed into two parts: reference to a class of animals and transport vehicles, the same that is referred to by the words 'cat' and 'bus', and reference to plural number. The form of the words 'cats' and 'buses' can likewise be decomposed or segmentized into two parts: 'cat' and 's' and 'bus' and 'es', respectively. The parts of the meaning of a word are referred to as morphemes. Hereby a distinction is made between lexical and grammatical morphemes. Thus, the words 'cats' and 'buses' consist of two morphemes each: the lexical morpheme 'cat' and 'bus' and the grammatical morpheme denoting plural number. On the other hand, the parts of the phonemic shape of a word are referred to as morphs. Thus, the word forms 'cats' and 'buses' consist of the morphs 'cat' and 's' and 'bus' and 'es', respectively. Morphs are the phonological representations of morphemes. In the words 'cats' and 'buses' one and the same grammatical meaning, that is the morpheme of plural number, is, however, phonologically represented by two different morphs: the phoneme 's' and the phoneme cluster 'es'. A word like 'mice' can, similarly, be factored into two parts of meaning: the lexical morpheme 'mouse' referring to another class of animals and the grammatical morpheme denoting plural number. However, the form of the word 'mice' cannot be segmentized into two parts, that is two morphs. Instead one form, the portmanteau morph 'mice' represents two morphemes: the lexical morpheme 'mouse' and the grammatical morpheme of plural number.

Throughout this chapter, in the analysis of the structure of Tamil word forms, we will refer to two levels of structure. In an underlying structure, we will deal with the abstract elements, that is lexical and grammatical morphemes, of which a word form is composed of. And on the phonological level, we will deal with the phonological realizations of morphemes, that is morphs. Turning to the phonological level, we observe that Tamil word forms can readily be segmentized into a sequence of parts, that is morphs, with each morph representing one morpheme in the majority of cases.

1.1
Concatenative morphology

Tamil morphology can thus be characterized as absolutely agglutinating or concatenative. That is, morphs are 'stuck on' (agglutinated or concatenated) in a sequence. Concatenative morphology in Tamil involves always suffixation: morphs are added in a sequence as suffixes after a stem. This can be represented as follows:

(1) stem (+ affix)^n

where the superscript n means one or more occurrences of a suffix. When morphs are thus serialized as suffixes at the right end of a word stem, inflected or derived words are formed. In Modern Tamil, there are two types of stems to which inflectional suffixes can be added: nominal and verbal stems. For example, an inflected noun consists of a noun stem followed by a plural suffix and a case suffix:

(2) *viiṭu-kaḷ-il*
house-pl-loc
'in the houses'

In (2) the noun stem *viiṭu* is followed by the plural suffix *-kaḷ*, which in turn is followed by the locative case suffix *-il*. In most cases, a morph added as suffix to a stem represents just one morpheme. Thus the morph *-kaḷ* represents the plural morpheme and the morph *-il* the locative morpheme. There are, however, cases where a morph represents more than one morpheme. Examples occur in the case of the inflected verb: one type of a finite verb form, for instance, consists of the verb stem followed by a tense morph and a person-number-gender morph. Example:

(3) *va-nt-aan̲*
come-pst-3sm
'(he) came'

In (3) the verb stem *va* is followed by the past tense suffix *-nt* and the third person-singular-masculine suffix *-aan̲*. Whereas the past tense suffix *-nt* is an allomorph, representing just one morpheme—the past tense morpheme—, the person-number-gender suffix *-aan̲* is a portmanteau morph, which represents the three morphemes of third person, singular number, and masculine gender. Similarly, derivational suffixes, which are less prominent in Tamil in comparison with other languages

occur as suffixes after a stem or root. For example, the nominalizing suffix *-ppu* occurs after a number of verb roots. Example:

(4) $[_N [_V$ *ciri* 'laugh'] *-ppu*] 'laughter'

In Tamil, morphemes are mainly represented formally by the morphological process of suffixation, as illustrated above. There is, however, also the occurrence of another morphological process, the one of reduplication. For example, in the formation of past tense verb forms, see 1.42, the past tense morpheme can be realized both by a morph, that is by a suffix, and by doubling of a phoneme of the verb.

1.2
Morphological word classes: nouns and verbs

Words of a language are generally assigned to parts of speech according to their grammatical properties. These grammatical properties comprise both morphological and syntactic properties. Thus, words are assigned to parts of speech according to the grammatical categories they can be inflected for, their distribution in the sentence, their syntactic function, etc. As mentioned in the introduction, there is no agreement in the grammatical literature as to how many parts of speech should be distinguished in Modern Tamil. Applying both morphological and syntactic criteria in examining the grammatical properties of words in Modern Tamil, it is proposed here that the following eight parts of speech can be distinguished:

- nouns
- verbs
- postpositions
- adjectives
- adverbs
- quantifiers
- determiners
- conjunctions

Having distinguished eight parts of speech in Modern Tamil, some remarks regarding their form is in order. In Modern Tamil all lexical or root morphemes can be distinguished into four groups: two major groups of nominal and verbal roots, which comprise almost all roots occurring in Modern Tamil, and two minor groups of adjectival roots, e.g. *putu* 'new', *nal* 'good', *cir̲u* 'small', and adverbial roots , e.g. *car̲r̲u*

'a little'. If we take a purely formal point of view, then all words of the above given eight parts of speech can be identified as an inflected or uninflected word form of a nominal, verbal, adjectival, or adverbial root. Nouns naturally consist of, or contain a nominal root and verbs consist of a verbal root. However, postpositions, many adverbs, quantifiers and conjunctions can be formally identified as an inflected or uninflected form of a nominal or verbal root. For example, the postposition *poola* 'like' can be identified as the infinitive form of the verb *pool* 'be similar, seem' and the conjunction *aanaal* 'but' can be identified as the conditional form of the verb *aaku* 'become'. Further, most adjectives can be identified as adjectival roots inflected for person, number, gender by means of a third person-plural-neuter suffix. The reason for this is that due to the scarcity of parts of speech in Old Tamil, a number of inflected and uninflected nominal, verbal, and adjectival roots are grammatically reanalyzed to closed classes of various parts-of-speech in Modern Tamil—such as postpositions, adjectives, adverbs, quantifiers, etc. This will be discussed in detail in chapter 2. It is now important to note, that even if the postposition *poola*, for example, can be identified formally as the infinitive form of a verb, it is morphologically as well as syntactically not a verb. The infinitive form *poola* is morphologically frozen and does not participate in any morphological process, e.g. it cannot be inflected for the various categories for which verbs in Tamil can be inflected. Morphologically, the form *poola* is an uninflectionable word, which due to its syntactic properties is assigned to the parts of speech of postpositions. The eight parts of speech we distinguish in Modern Tamil will be discussed in detail in the next chapter on syntactic categories, where they will be identified with lexical categories.

Since we are dealing here with morphology, we are at present interested only in those parts of speech which exhibit a morphological process of inflection or derivation. Of the eight parts of speech in Modern Tamil only two have the grammatical property that they can be specified for inflectional categories: nouns and verbs. Nouns can be inflected for the categories of case and number, whereas verbs can be inflected for the categories of tense, person, number, gender, and others. However all other parts of speech, e.g. postpositions, adjectives, cannot be inflected for any category and are thus uninflectionable words. Turning to the process of derivation, we notice that only the part-of-speech of nouns exhibits a derivational process. Thus, nouns can be derived from verbs—see (4)—, but not other parts of speech. There are, however, two suffixes which pose a problem for this claim: the suffixes *-aaṉa* and *-aakal-aay*, all of which are attached to nouns. The forms resulting from

the affixation of these suffixes to nouns are often translatable by adjectives and adverbs in English. Probably because of this, the respective forms are often referred to as derived adjectives and derived adverbs all over the grammatical literature. The two suffixes will be discussed in detail under 2.30 and 2.34-49, where we will argue that they do not have the categorical status of derivational suffixes. To sum up, of the various parts of speech distinguished in Modern Tamil only two, i.e. nouns and verbs, exhibit morphological processes—in particular the one of inflection. Thus, from the morphological point of view, the eight parts of speech in Modern Tamil can be distinguished into three morphological word classes:

- nouns
- verbs
- uninflected words

The latter class includes the words assigned to the parts of speech of postpositions, adjectives, adverbs, quantifiers, determiners, and conjunctions. In the following, we present the two major morphological word classes in Modern Tamil—nouns and verbs—and the two major morphological processes of noun and verb inflection. As mentioned above, derivation features less prominently than inflection in Tamil and will not be discussed here.

1.3
Definition of nouns

Nouns are defined as those words which can take case suffixes and the suffixes *-aakal-aay*. The latter suffixes are usually referred to as adverbializing suffixes, but their categorical status will be analyzed differently here. There are, however, a number of nouns which have defective morphology, that is they cannot take all case suffixes. We will refer to these nouns as defective nouns.

Noun inflection
1.4

Nouns can be inflected for the categories of number and case. An inflected noun form may thus be the phonemic realization of three morphemes, as given in the following representation:

(5) noun (+ number) (+ case)

On the phonemic level, however, an inflected noun form does not always consist of three morphs only, representing the above three morphemes. The reason is that in the process of noun inflection, apart from the number and case suffixes, which realize the grammatical morphemes of (5), certain phonological suffixes with no lexical or grammatical function can occur. These phonological suffixes are 'empty morphs', that is, they do not represent a morpheme. In the grammatical literature these phonological suffixes are called 'inflectional increments' (Caldwell 1856). A distinction can be made between obligatory and optional phonological suffixes/inflectional increments. We will refer to the obligatory inflectional increments as oblique increments or oblique suffixes and to the optional inflectional increments as euphonic increments or euphonic suffixes.

In underlying structure two (grammatical) morphemes, i.e. the one of number and the one of case, can occur with the noun morpheme, as shown under (5). On the phonological level, however, four types of morphs (or suffixes) can occur with the noun stem:

- plural suffix
- oblique suffix (increment)
- euphonic suffix (increment)
- case suffix

The cooccurrence of these four suffixes with the noun stem is as follows.

When a noun is only inflected for number, a plural suffix is added to the noun stem:

(6) noun stem + plural suffix

Example:
viiṭu-kaḷ
house-pl

When a noun is inflected for case only, a case suffix is added either directly to the noun stem or to the oblique stem of the noun in case the respective noun has such a stem. The oblique stem of a noun is formed either by the suffixation of an oblique suffix to the noun or by doubling of a consonant—see 1.6-10. The euphonic increment *-iṉ* (or in some cases *-aṉ*) can occur optionally between the noun/oblique stem and the case suffix:

(7) noun stem / oblique stem } (+ euphonic increment) + case suffix

Examples:

caavi·y(-iṉ)-aal	*mara-tt(-iṉ)-aal*
key-euph-inst	tree-obl-euph-inst

When a noun is inflected for both number and case, the plural suffix is first added to the noun stem, optionally followed by the euphonic increment *-iṉ*, and then the case suffix is added:

(8) noun stem + plural suffix (+ euph. increment) + case suffix

Example:
viiṭu-kaḷ(-iṉ)-ai
house-pl-euph-acc

When plural, case, and phonological suffixes are added to the noun or oblique stem, various morphophonemic rules operate. For example, to prevent a hiatus, a glide is inserted in the form of the phoneme *v* or *y*, as in (7), or the stem final vowel *u* is deleted. A complete list of these rules cannot be given here. We, therefore, refer to Andronow (1969:39-59), Arden (1942:64-72), Paramasivam (1983:68-94), and Shanmugam Pillai (1975:229-246). In the following, we will first discuss the two stem forms, that is the noun stem and the oblique stem, of which the latter involves the occurrence of the oblique suffix. Then, we will discuss number marking and the occurrence of the plural suffix. Subsequently, we will deal with the euphonic increment and, finally, we will discuss case marking and the occurrence of case suffixes.

1.5
Noun stem

The noun stem is the form of the noun without the attachment of inflectional suffixes. It is with this form that the noun is listed in the dictionary and occurs as nominative form. Noun stems may be simple or complex. A simple noun stem consists of a nominal root, e.g. *kal* 'stone'. A complex noun stem may consist of a root, e.g. a verbal root, and a derivational suffix, e.g. the deverbal nominalizing suffix *-ppu*. Example:

(9) [$_N$ [$_V$ *paṭi* 'study'] *-ppu*] 'study'

Or it may consist of a root and a gender suffix, as in the following examples:

(10) *maaṇa·v-aṉ* 'male student'
maaṇa·v-i 'female student'
maaṇa·v-ar '(epicene honorific) student'

puṭa·v-aṉ 'male wine-seller'
puṭa·v-i 'female wine-seller'
puṭa·v-ar '(epicene honorific) wine-seller'

in which the masculine gender suffix *-aṉ*, the female gender suffix *-i* and the epicene honorific gender suffix *-ar* occur. Finally, a number of noun stems consist of a root ending in the vowel *a* and the stem forming suffix *-m*. Examples:

(11) *mara-m* 'tree'
paẓa-m 'fruit'
nila-m 'ground'
tiṭṭa-m 'plan'

Oblique stem
1.6
Some nouns have in addition to the noun stem an oblique noun form, called oblique stem, some nouns do not. The oblique stem has a fourfold function and context of occurrence. First, as shown under (7), it is the noun form to which case suffixes are added. Second, it is the form a noun appears with when it occurs as modifier with genitive function before a head noun. Third, it is the noun form of the first noun element in a compound noun construction. And fourth, it is the form of a noun occurring before a number of postpositions. Nouns which do not have an oblique stem occur simply with their noun stem in the just given four contexts. According to whether nouns have an oblique stem or not and, if they have one, according to the phonemic shape of the oblique stem, all Tamil nouns can be distinguished into four classes, which are given in the following sections.

1.7
Oblique stem with oblique suffix *-ttu*
The first class of nouns comprises all nouns consisting of a root ending in the vowel *a* and the noun stem forming suffix *-m*, e.g. *mara-m* 'tree', see (11) above. These nouns form their oblique stem by replacing the stem forming suffix *-m* with the oblique suffix *-ttu*. Example:

(12) *mara-ttu* 'tree'
paẓa-ttu 'fruit'
nila-ttu 'ground'
tooṭṭa-ttu 'garden'

The fourfold context of occurrence of this type of oblique stem is illustrated by the following examples:

(13) oblique stem + case suffix
tooṭṭa-tt-il
garden-obl-loc
'in the garden'

(14) oblique stem + head noun
tooṭṭa-ttu·k katavu
garden-obl door
'door of the garden'

(15) oblique stem + noun (in noun-noun compound)
tooṭṭa-ttu·p puu
garden-obl flower
'garden flower'

(16) oblique stem + postposition
tooṭṭa-ttu·p pakkam
garden-obl near
'near the garden'

Note that when nouns in oblique form are followed by a noun or postposition beginning with one of the four stop consonants *k*, *c*, *t*, *p*, the respective stop is reduplicated and added to the preceding oblique form, as shown in (14) to (16).

1.8
Oblique stem with oblique suffix *-aṟṟu*
The second class of nouns comprises only five nouns (pronouns), which do not exhibit a common property except that they have the same oblique suffix: *pala* 'many', *cila* 'a few', *ivai* 'these', *avai* 'those', and

ellaa-m 'all'. These nouns (pronouns) form their oblique stem by adding the oblique suffix *-aṟṟu*. In this case, *ellaa-m* drops its final *-m* and *ivai*, *avai* appear in the shortened form *i-* and *a-*:

(17) *pala·v-aṟṟu* 'many'
a·v-aṟṟu 'those'
ellaa·v-aṟṟu 'all'

The context of occurrence of this type of oblique stem is shown below:

(18) oblique stem + case suffix
pala·v-aṟṟ-ooṭu
many-obl-soc
'with many (things, persons)'

(19) oblique stem + head noun
pala·v-aṟṟ-iṉ *vilai*
many-obl-euph price
'the price of many (things)'

(20) oblique stem + postposition
pala·v-aṟṟ-iṉ *pakkam*
many-obl-euph near
'near many (things, persons)'

Note that with this type of nouns (pronouns) the euphonic increment *-iṉ*, to be discussed under 1.12, occurs obligatorily after the oblique suffix *-aṟṟu* when the respective noun (pronoun) occurs as noun modifier, as in (19), or is followed by a postposition, as in (20). Finally note that these nouns (pronouns) do not occur in compound noun constructions.

1.9
Oblique stem formed by doubling of consonant

The third class of nouns consists of all nouns whose stems end in the syllable *ṭu* or *ṟu*, but do not consist of two short syllables, e.g., *viiṭu* 'house', *naaṭu* 'country', *aaṟu* 'river', *kiṇaṟu* 'well'. Nouns belonging to this class form their oblique stem by doubling of the consonant of the final syllable *ṭu* or *ṟu*. Examples:

(21) *viiṭ·ṭu* 'house'
naaṭ·ṭu 'country'
aaṟ·ṟu 'river'
kiṇaṟ·ṟu 'well'

The context of occurrence of this type of oblique stem is shown by the following examples:

(22) oblique stem + case suffix
viiṭ·ṭ-il — *kiṇaṟ·ṟ-il*
house(obl)-loc — well(obl)-loc
'in the house' — 'in the well'

(23) oblique stem + head noun
viiṭ·ṭu·k katavu — *kiṇaṟ·ṟu·c cuvar*
house(obl) door — well(obl) wall
'door of the house' — 'wall of the well'

(24) oblique stem + noun (in noun-noun compound)
viiṭ·ṭu veelai — *kiṇaṟ·ṟu·t taṇṇiir*
house(obl) work — well(obl) water
'house work' — 'well water'

(25) oblique stem + postposition
viiṭ·ṭu·p pakkam — *kiṇaṟ·ṟu·p pakkam*
house(obl) near — well(obl) near
'near the house' — 'near the well'

The fourth class of nouns consists of all other nouns which do not belong to one of the above three classes and which do not have an oblique stem. These nouns, which are the majority of Tamil nouns, occur, as mentioned above, with their noun stem in the context in which other nouns occur with their oblique stem. Examples:

(26) noun stem + case suffix
talai·y-il
head-loc
'on the head'

(27) noun stem + head noun
talai mayir
head hair
'hair of the head'

(28) noun stem + noun (in noun-noun compound)
talai vali
head pain
'headache'

(29) noun stem + postposition
talai meelee
head on
'on the head'

1.10
Oblique stem of pronouns

Pronouns are a closed subset of the parts of speech of nouns. The property which groups pronouns as a subset of nouns is largely syntactical. For this reason, we will discuss pronouns in detail in the chapter on syntactic categories. What has to be mentioned under the discussion of morphology, however, is that of the five types of pronouns we will distinguish in Tamil one type—the personal pronouns—has an oblique stem. Hereby only first, second, fourth person pronouns—see 2.3 for the category of 'fourth person'—and third person, plural, neuter pronouns have an oblique stem. Other third person pronouns do not have an oblique stem. First, second, and fourth person pronouns form their oblique stem by means of a phonemic change of their pronoun form—see the table below. Third person, plural, neuter pronouns, however, form their oblique stem by means of the oblique suffix *-arru*, as already discussed and illustrated under 1.8. See now the oblique stems of personal pronouns:

TABLE 1. **Oblique forms of personal pronouns**

Person	Pronoun	Oblique form
1s	*naan* 'I'	*en(n)*, *ena*
2s	*nii* 'you'	*un(n)*, *una*
3sm	*ivan/avan* 'he'	*ivan/avan*
3sf	*ival/aval* 'she'	*ival/aval*
3sn	*itu/atu* 'it'	*itu/atu*
3sm/f	*ivar/avar* 'he, she'	*ivar/avar*
4s	*taan* 'he, she, it'	*tan(n)*, *tana*
1pl	*naaṅkal* 'we'	*eṅkal*
	naam 'we'	*nam(m)*, *nama*
2pl	*niiṅkal* 'you'	*uṅkal*
3plm/f	*ivarkal/avarkal* 'they'	*ivarkal/avarkal*
3pln	*ivai/avai* 'they'	*i·v-arru/a·v-arru*
	ivaikal/avaikal 'they'	*ivaikal/avaikal*
4pl	*taaṅkal* 'they'	*taṅkal*

As shown in the above table, the oblique stem of first, second, and fourth person pronouns has three variant forms, e.g. in the case of *naan* 'I': *en*, *enn*, and *ena*. The latter two oblique forms occur with case suffixes, whereby the forms ending in the vowel *a*, e.g. *ena*, occur with the dative case only (30a) and the forms ending in a double nasal, e.g. *enn*, occur with all other case suffixes (30b). The first variant form occurs with a head noun (31) or a postposition (32). Examples:

(30) oblique stem + case suffix
a. *ena-kku* b. *enn-iṭam*
I(obl)-dat I(obl)-loc
'to me' 'with me'

(31) oblique stem + head noun
en viiṭu
I(obl) house
'my house'

(32) oblique stem + postposition
en pakkam
I(obl) near
'near me'

1.11
Number marking

Tamil distinguishes a singular and a plural number. Only the plural number is morphophonologically marked by means of the plural suffix *-kal* or *-kkal*. As mentioned above, the plural suffix is always added to the noun stem—never to the oblique stem of a noun. The two allomorphs of the plural suffix, *-kal* and *-kkal*, have the following distribution.

-kkal occurs with all nouns (i) ending in a long vowel—see (33a)—, or (ii) consisting of two short syllables and ending in *u*—see (33b). With all other nouns *-kal* occurs—see (33c).

(33) a. *puu* 'flower' : *puu-kkal* 'flowers'
ii 'fly' : *ii-kkal* 'flies'

b. *pacu* 'cow' : *pacu-kkal* 'cows'
teru 'street' : *teru-kkal* 'streets'

c. *kal* 'stone' : *kar-kaḷ* 'stones'
maram 'tree' : *maraṅ-kaḷ* 'trees'
viiṭu 'house' : *viiṭu-kaḷ* 'houses'

An exception are nouns whose noun stem consists of a root which combines with a masculine/feminine/epicene gender suffix—see (10) above—, e.g. *maaṇa·v-an* 'male student', *maaṇa·v-·i* 'female student', *maaṇa·v·ar* '(honorific) student', or *naṇp-an* 'friend', *naṇp-ar* '(honorific) friend'. With these nouns the plural suffix *-kaḷ* can only be added to noun stems ending in the epicene, honorific gender suffix *-ar*—see (34a)—, or ending in the female gender suffix *-i*—see (34b)—, but not to noun stems ending in the masculine gender suffix *-an*—see (34c):

(34) a. *maaṇa·v-ar-kaḷ* 'students'
naṇp-ar-kaḷ 'friends'

b. *maaṇa·v-i-kaḷ* 'female students'

c. * *maaṇa·v-aṅ-kaḷ* 'male students'

Note that the epicene, honorific gender suffix *-ar* has also the function of a plural marker in Old Tamil. Thus, in Old Tamil a form like *naṇp-ar* expresses the plural number 'friends' with or without the plural suffix *-kaḷ*. In Modern Tamil the suffix *-ar* expresses, however, epicene gender and honorific status only.

With rational nouns, that is nouns denoting rational beings—humans, gods, demons—, the occurrence of the plural suffix is obligàtory. Examples:

(35) *naaṅkaḷ maaṇavar-kaḷ*
we student-pl
'We are students.

(36) *en paiyaṅ-kaḷ va-nt-aarkaḷ*
I(obl) boy-pl come-pst-3pl
'My boys (children) came.'

With non-rational nouns, on the other hand, the occurrence of the plural suffix is optional. It is often deleted, especially, when the noun is modified by a quantifier. Examples:

(37) *aṅku niraiya viiṭu(-kaḷ) iru-kkiṉr-an-a*
there many house-pl be-pres-euph-3pln
'There are many houses.'

(38) *iranṭu naay(-kaḷ) va-nt-atu*
two dog-pl come-pst-3sn
'Two dogs came.'

Note that with neuter subject NPs marked for plural, e.g. *viiṭu-kaḷ* 'houses' and *naay-kaḷ* 'dogs', either the third person-plural-neuter suffix, as in (37), or the third person-singular-neuter suffix, as in (38), may occur on the verb. This is discussed in detail in Paramasivam (1980:85).

1.12
Euphonic increments *-in* and *-an*

The discussion of the oblique stem of nouns in the preceding sections introduced the two obligatory inflectional increments *-ttu* and *-arru*, which participate in the formation of the oblique stem and have, therefore, been referred to as oblique suffixes. As mentioned under 1.4, there is also an optional inflectional increment in the form of the phonological suffixes *-in* and *-an*, to which we have referred to as euphonic suffixes. Whereas the suffix *-in* occurs with all nouns, the suffix *-an* occurs only with the pronouns *itu* 'this, it' and *atu* 'that, it'. With a number of nouns these euphonic suffixes are, however, obligatory in certain contexts. The contexts in which the euphonic suffixes *-in* and *-an* can occur are as follows:

i) in nouns inflected for case. Hereby the euphonic suffix occurs between the noun stem or—when available—the oblique stem, or the plural suffix and the case suffix, as shown in (7) and (8) and the following examples:

(39) a. *kai(·y-in)-aal* *at(-an)-aal*
hand-euph-inst that-euph-inst
'with the hand' 'with that'

b. *catta-tt(-in)-aal*
sound-obl-euph-inst
'with sound'

c. *kar-kaḷ(-in)-aal*
stone-pl-euph-inst
'with the stones'

In (39a) the euphonic increment *-in* occurs optionally between the noun stem of the noun *kai* 'hand', which has no oblique stem, and the instrumental case suffix *-aal*; the euphonic increment *-an* occurs optionally between the stem of the pronoun *-atu* 'that' and the instrumental case

suffix. In (39b) the euphonic increment *-in* occurs optionally between the oblique stem of the noun *maram* 'wood', formed with the oblique suffix *-ttu*, and the instrumental case suffix. In (39c) *-in* occurs optionally between the plural suffix and the instrumental case suffix.

ii) with nouns occurring as noun modifier with genitive case function before a head noun. Hereby the euphonic increment *-in* occurs optionally after the noun or oblique stem of the noun, or after the plural suffix. Examples:

(40) a. *appaa(·v-in) pustakam*
father-euph book
'father's book'

b. *mara-tt(-in) kiḷai*
tree-obl-euph branch
'branch of the tree'

c. *paiyan-kaḷ(-in) caṭṭai*
boy-pl-euph shirt
'the shirt of the boys'

Note with a number of nouns, e.g. *meecai* 'table', the increment *-in* occurs obligatorily in this context. Similarly, the increment *-an*. Examples:

(41) a. *meecai·y-in kaal*
table-euph leg
'the leg of the table'

b. *at-an vilai*
it-euph price
'the price of it'

In these cases some grammarians have attributed a grammatical function, that is the genitive function, to the euphonic increment *-in*. However, here we analyze this suffix as a phonological one. For further discussion see 1.22.

iii) with nouns followed by a set of certain postpositions. Hereby the euphonic increment occurs optionally—with some nouns obligatorily—after the noun or oblique stem, or after the plural suffix. Examples:

(42) a. *caavi(·y-in) muulam* — *at(-an) muulam*
key-euph with — it-euph with
'with the key' — 'with it'

b. *mara-tt(-in) muulam*
wood-obl-euph with
'with wood'

c. *aaṇi-kaḷ(-in) muulam*
nail-pl-euph with
'with nails'

Case marking

1.13

The category of case indicates the syntactic and semantic relationship between (i) a noun or noun phrase and a verb, or (ii) two nouns or noun phrases. Verbal predicates take a number of obligatory and optional arguments in the sentence, e.g. subject, object NPs, and adverbial adjuncts. Case markers express then the syntactic and semantic relation between a noun phrase and the verbal predicate. That is they indicate the grammatical function of an argument NP, e.g. subject or object, and they express the semantic role of the argument NP in the predication, e.g. reason or cause of an action or event, location of an event or state, source or goal of motion, etc. One case, however, the genitive case expresses the relation between two noun phrases.

Morphosyntactically case marking in Tamil is realized in two ways: (i) by case suffixes, (ii) by postpositions—some of which are bound forms. In the case of postpositions, case marking is actually realized by a combination of both a case suffix and a postposition since most postpositions govern a certain case suffix on the preceding noun phrase. Thus, the semantic role of instrument, for example, can be expressed by a case suffix—the suffix *-aal*—added to a noun phrase, e.g. with the noun *caavi* 'key': *caavi·y-aal* 'with the key'. It can also be expressed by a postposition—the word *muulam* 'with'—, e.g. *caavi muulam* 'with the key'. And finally, the semantic role of instrument can be expressed by a postposition governing a case suffix. The postposition *koṇṭu* governs accusative case on the preceding noun phrase, which is realized by the case suffix *-ai*. Example: *caavi·y-ai·k koṇṭu* 'with the key'.
There are six case suffixes in Modern Tamil, as shown in Table 2:

TABLE 2. **Case suffixes**

Case	Suffix
accusative	*-ai*
dative	*-(u)kku/-ku*
instrumental	*-aal*
sociative	*-ooṭu*
locative	*-il*

Further, there are five bound postpositions, as given in Table 3 below.

TABLE 3. **Bound postpositions**

Case	Bound postposition
locative	*-iṭam*
sociative	*-uṭan̲*
ablative	*-iruntu*
benefactive	*-aaka*

Apart from these bound postpositions, there are about fifty postpositions which occur as free forms. These forms are given under 2.23-27.

Having shown how Tamil realizes the category of case, let us now turn to the question of how many cases can be distinguished in Tamil. Traditional Tamil grammarians treated only case suffixes, the bound postpositions—except *-aaka*—, and a number of locative postpositions as case markers. On the basis of these markers they distinguished eight cases, which were labelled according to the phonemic form of the case marker or with serial numbers. Hereby they also included the vocative case, which is not marked by a case marker. Later western grammarians labelled the eight cases with Latin or Sanskrit grammar terms according to a function of the respective case marker. Doing this, they selected one of the case marker's function as label. As a result the following eight cases were distinguished:

- nominative
- accusative
- dative
- instrumental
- sociative
- locative
- ablative
- genitive
- vocative

The eigth case—the vocative case—is the presentential address form of a noun and not a case according to our definition. As mentioned, it is not marked by a case marker, but by the addition of a clitic or by a change of the phonemic form of the noun. This form will therefore be ignored in our discussion of case marking henceforth. We have to point out that the above labels of the various case markers do not represent

the meaning of a case marker fully since they express only one of its functions. For example, the case suffix *-aal*, labelled as instrumental case suffix, does not only express instrumentality, with which it is labelled, but also a number of other concepts, like cause, reason, means, etc. Moreover, the above cases do not include those cases expressed by many postpositions. It is clear that if we took account of all bound and free postpositions—and not only of case suffixes—and of all the various semantic functions they have, a large number of cases could be distinguished.

Let us return to the devices of case marking in Tamil which we have distinguished in this general discussion of the category of case, that is

- case suffixes
- bound postpositions
- postpositions (free forms)

We will present these three devices in two steps. First, we will discuss the case suffixes and bound postpositions since they participate in the word formation process of noun inflection. Hereby, we will use the case labels given above—except the vocative case. To these cases we have to add the benefactive case to accomodate the bound postposition *-aaka*. Later in the chapter on syntactic categories, we will deal with those case markers that are free forms, that is postpositions.

1.14
Nominative case

As mentioned under 1.5, the nominative form of a noun is identical with the noun stem. The nominative case is thus not marked on the noun by means of a case suffix or postposition. It is morphologically the unmarked case. Since in Tamil syntactic functions—except the subject function—and semantic roles are mainly expressed by case markers and the nominative case is not marked by a case marker, the nominative case is not only morphologically, but also syntactically and semantically, the unmarked case.

Syntactically the nominative case is the unmarked case in the sense that it does not indicate a particular grammatical function, e.g. the subject function. A noun or noun phrase in nominative case may function as (i) subject, (ii) predicate, (iii) subject complement, (iv) object complement, and (v) object. This will be illustrated in the following. In the first example, there are two nouns, that is NPs, in nominative case, of which the first one functions as subject and the second one as predicate.

(43) *kumaar maaṇavan̲*
Kumar student
'Kumar (is) (a) student.'

In the next two examples, the first noun phrase in nominative case functions as subject and the second noun phrase in nominative case functions as subject complement in (44) and as object complement in (45):

(44) *kumaar maaṇavan̲ aa-n̲-aan̲*
Kumar student become-pst-3sm
'Kumar became a student.'

(45) *kumaar raaman̲-ai·t talaivan̲ aakk-in̲-aan̲*
Kumar Raman-acc leader make-pst-3sm
'Kumar made Raman a leader.'

In the next example, the first noun phrase in nominative case functions as subject and the second noun phrase in nominative case as object.

(46) *kumaar taṇṇiir keeṭ-ṭ-aan̲*
Kumar water ask-pst-3sm
'Kumar asked for water.'

Note, only indefinite and generic noun phrases with object function can occur in nominative case. This will be further discussed in the next section. The above examples show that the nominative can occur with a variety of syntactic functions and that there is no particular function which is expressed by the nominative case. Even though in all of the above examples the noun phrase with subject function occurs in nominative case, there is no interrelationship between the subject function and the nominative case. As we will see under 1.16 and 3.4-7, noun phrases with subject function can also occur in dative case.

Semantically the nominative case is the unmarked case in the sense that—in contrast to all other cases, which are case marked—it does not express a particular semantic role of the noun phrase. As noted and illustrated by Lindholm (1978), the nominative case noun phrase with subject function expresses a wide range of semantic roles, depending on the meaning of the verbal predicate. We will give here only three examples, showing three different semantic roles of the nominative noun phrase with subject function:

(47) a. agent
paiyan̲ caavi·y-aal katav-ai·t tir̲a-nt-aan̲
boy key-inst door-acc open-pst-3sm
'The boy opened the door with the key.'

b. instrument
caavi katav-ai·t tir̲a-nt-atu
key door-acc open-pst-3sn
'The key opened the door.'

c. patient
katavu tir̲a-nt-atu
door open-pst-3sn
'The door opened.'

Since the nominative case is thus semantically the unmarked case, Steever (1981a:148) suggests that a noun phrase will occur in the nominative case if no other specific case assignment rule lays claim to that particular noun phrase. That is, if a case assigning category, e.g. verb or postposition, does not assign case by a specific case assignment rule, e.g. a di-transitive verb assigns dative case to the indirect object noun phrase, then a noun phrase will receive nominative case. The nominative case is thus a sort of 'elsewhere case' for noun phrases that have no other motivated case assigned.

Finally note that not every noun phrase that occurs without a case marker is in the nominative case. Several case suffixes can be optionally deleted in certain contexts, as we will see in the following sections. These noun phrases are then not in the nominative case.

1.15
Accusative case

The accusative case marker is the case suffix *-ai*. Example:

paiyan̲ 'boy' : *paiyan̲-ai*.

The function of the accusative case is to mark the direct object noun phrase of a transitive verb. Paramasivam (1983:105) notes the interdependence between the accusative case and the deictic category of definiteness. Thus when the direct object noun phrase of a transitive verb is definite, the accusative case suffix occurs obligatorily on the object noun phrase. Examples:

(48)

a.	*kumaar*	*kamalaa·v-ai·k*	*kaatali-kkiṟ-aaṉ*
	Kumar	Kamala-acc	love-pres-3sm

‘Kumar loves Kamala.’

b.	*naaṉ*	*eṉ*	*caavi·y-ai·t*	*tolai-tt-eeṉ*
	I	I(obl)	key-acc	loose-pst-1s

‘I lost the key.’

c.	*inta·p*	*pustaka-tt-ai·k*	*koṭu-ṅkaḷ*
	this	book-obl-acc	give-imp+pl

‘(Please) give this book.’

Note that when a noun phrase marked for accusative case is followed by a word beginning with one of the four stop consonants *k*, *c*, *t*, *p*, the respective stop is reduplicated and added to the preceding accusative noun phrase. In all of the above examples, the object noun phrase is definite either because it consists of a personal noun, as in (48a), or because it contains determinative noun modifiers, such as the possessive pronoun *eṉ* ‘my’ in (48b), or the demonstrative adjective *inta* ‘this’ in (48c). Thus the accusative suffix is obligatory. If the object noun phrase does not contain any noun modifier which would indicate definiteness, the accusative case suffix alone marks the object noun phrase as definite. This is illustrated by the following example:

(49)

kumaar	*iṭli·y-ai·c*	*caappiṭ·ṭ-aaṉ*
Kumar	Idli-acc	eat-pst-3sm

‘Kumar ate the Idli(s).’

The accusative case suffix in (49) marks the object noun phrase as definite. Thus the speaker in (49) refers to one or more particular Idlis. Now, see in contrast to (49) the following example:

(50)

kumaar	*iṭli*	*caappiṭ·ṭ-aaṉ*
Kumar	Idli	eat-pst-3sm

‘Kumar ate Idli(s).’

In (50) the object noun phrase, which does not contain any noun modifier, is not marked with the accusative case suffix. Consequently, it is not interpreted as a definite object. The speaker in (50) does not refer to one or more particular Idlis. Instead, he just expresses that what Kumar was eating was Idli (and not something else). In this case, the object noun phrase occurs obligatorily without the accusative suffix,

that is it occurs in a form unmarked for case and thus in the nominative case.

Whenever a non-rational object noun phrase is indefinite and generic, as in (50), or the following (51), the object noun phrase does not occur in the accusative but in the nominative case—see also (46):

(51)

avaṉ	*paṇam*	*keeṭ-ṭ-aaṉ*
he	money	ask-pst-3sm

‘He asked for money.’

However, when a non-rational object noun phrase is indefinite and as such marked, for example by an indefinite noun modifier, the accusative case suffix is optional:

(52)

kumaar	*oru*	*peṭṭi(·y-ai)*	*vaaṅk-iṉ-aaṉ*
Kumar	a	box-acc	buy-pst-3sm

‘Kumar bought a box.’

When a rational noun phrase is indefinite, the accusative case suffix is not optional but obligatory. Example:

(53)

kumaar	*oru*	*paiyaṉ-ai·p*	*paar-tt-aaṉ*
Kumar	a	boy-acc	see-pst-3sm

‘Kumar saw a boy.’

This shows that there is also an interdependency between the accusative case and the category of rationality: with rational object noun phrases—whether definite or indefinite/generic—the accusative case suffix is obligatory. There are, however, a few cases where the accusative case suffix is optional with indefinite rational noun phrases. Example:

(54)

kumaar	*oru*	*maappiḷḷai(·y-ai·t)*	*teeṭu-kiṟ-aaṉ*
Kumar	a	son-in-law-acc	look for-pres-3sm

‘Kumar is looking for a son-in-law.’

The interdependence between the categories of case, definiteness and rationality can be summarized as follows:

i) when the object noun phrase is definite, the accusative case suffix is obligatory—see (48) and (49).
ii) when the object noun phrase is indefinite and non-rational and not marked by an indefinite determiner, the noun phrase appears in the nominative—see (50) and ((51).

iii) when the object noun phrase is indefinite and non-rational and marked by an indefinite determiner, the accusative case suffix is optional—see (52).
iv) when the object noun phrase is indefinite and rational, the accusative case suffix is obligatory—see (53).

1.16
Dative case

The dative case suffix has the following three allomorphs: *-kku*, *-ukku*, and *-ku*. The distribution of these allomorphs is as follows:

a) the allomorph *-kku* occurs (i) after the oblique stem of nouns and pronouns—for which see 1.6-10. Examples:

maram 'tree'	:	*mara-ttu-kku*
pala 'many'	:	*pala·v-arṟu-kku*
viiṭu 'house'	:	*viiṭ·ṭu-kku*
aaṟu 'river'	:	*aaṟ·ṟu-kku*
naaṉ 'I'	:	*eṉa-kku*

and ii) after the noun stem of nouns ending in *i,ii,ai,ay* or the short vowel *u*. Examples:

tampi 'younger brother'	:	*tampi-kku*
ii 'fly'	:	*ii-kku*
caṭṭai 'shirt'	:	*caṭṭai-kku*
naay 'dog'	:	*naay-kku*
makku 'fool'	:	*makku-kku*
paṭippu 'study'	:	*paṭippu-kku*

b) the allomorph *-ukku* occurs after the noun stem of all other nouns, e.g.:

ammaa 'mother'	:	*ammaa·v-ukku*
puu 'flower'	:	*puu·v-ukku*
paal 'milk'	:	*paal-ukku*
teru 'street'	:	*teru·v-ukku*
paiyaṉ 'boy'	:	*paiyaṉ-ukku*
peṇ 'girl'	:	*peṇṇ-ukku*

Note the operation of morphophonemic rules, e.g. the doubling of noun stem final consonants of short mono-syllabic words, as in the case of *peṇ* 'girl' above.

c) the allomorph *-ku* occurs after the euphonic increment *-iṉ* or *-aṉ*, which is optionally inserted between oblique or noun stem and case suffix. Note the operation of the morphophonemic rule which changes the nasal *ṉ* of *-iṉ* or *-aṉ* into *ṟ* before the velaric stop *k* of the dative case suffix *-ku*. Examples:

tampi 'brother'	+	*-iṉ*	+	*-ku*	:	*tampi·y-iṟ-ku*
ammaa 'mother'	+	*-iṉ*	+	*-ku*	:	*ammaa·v-iṟ-ku*
paal 'milk'	+	*-iṉ*	+	*-ku*	:	*paal-iṟ-ku*
atu 'that'	+	*-aṉ*	+	*-ku*	:	*at-aṟ-ku*

The dative case marker has a wide range of functions. As described by Paramasivam (1983:151), it expresses: (i) indirect object function, (ii) goal of motion, (iii) purpose, (iv) recipient of experience, (v) point in time or duration of time, (vi) proportion, (vii) distributive function, (viii) standard of comparison, and (ix) reference point.

(i) indirect object.
The dative case suffix marks a noun as the indirect object of a di-transitive verb. Example:

(55) *kumaar appaa·v-ukku oru paṭa-tt-ai·k kaaṭṭ-iṉ-aaṉ*
Kumar father-dat a picture-obl-acc show-pst-3sm
'Kumar showed father a picture.'

In the case of transactions the indirect object is only marked with the dative case suffix when the indirect object is the exclusive or permanent possessor of something. Consider the following example:

(56) *kumaar appaa·v-ukku oru kaṭitam koṭu-tt-aaṉ*
Kumar father-dat a letter give-pst-3sm
'Kumar gave father a letter.'

The above sentence implies that the letter is exclusively for Kumar. If Kumar was only the temporary possessor of the letter and should pass it on to someone else, then Tamil will not use the dative case to mark the indirect object, but the locative case marker, that is the bound postposition *-iṭam*, which occurs only with animate nouns. Example:

(57) *kumaar appaa·v-iṭam oru kaṭitam koṭu-tt-aaṉ*
Kumar father-loc a letter give-pst-3sm
'Kumar gave father a letter.'

Tamil distinguishes thus between permanent and temporary possession and this is reflected in its noun inflection. To express permanent possession or ownership, the dative case is used and to express temporary possession, the locative case is used.

(ii) goal of motion.
With verbs of motion, e.g. *vaa* 'come', *poo* 'go', the dative case marker expresses the goal of motion. However, with this function the dative case marker is restricted to inanimate nouns only. Examples:

(58) a. *kumaar uur-ukku·p poo-ṉ-aaṉ*
Kumar town-dat go-pst-3sm
'Kumar went to a town.'

b. *kumaar eṅkaḷ viiṭ·ṭu-kku va-nt-aaṉ*
Kumar we(obl) house-dat come-pst-3sm
'Kumar came to our house.'

Note that when the word following the noun marked with the dative case begins with one of the four stops *k, c, t, p*, then the respective stop is reduplicated and added to the preceding dative case noun, as in (58a). Animate nouns functioning as goal of motion do not take the dative case marker, but the locative case marker, that is the bound postposition *-iṭam*, see 1.20. Example:

(59) *kumaar appaa·v-iṭam poo-ṉ-aaṉ*
Kumar father-loc go-pst-3sm
'Kumar went to father.'

(iii) purpose.
A noun marked for dative case can express the purpose of an action. Examples:

60) a. *kumaar paṇa-ttu-kku·t-taaṉ veelai cey-kiṟ-aaṉ*
Kumar money-obl-dat-emph work do-pres-3sm
'Kumar works just for money.'

b. *kumaar taṉ uṭampu-kku ṭaaṉik caappiṭu-kiṟ-aaṉ*
Kumar he(obl) body-dat tonic eat-pres-3sm
'Kumar takes tonic for his health.'

(iv) recipient of experience.
With a number of stative transitive verbs, the dative case suffix marks the subject noun phrase, which has the semantic role of recipient of experience. Two sentence patterns have to be distinguished: dative NP + nominative NP + verb and dative NP + accusative NP + verb. They are illustrated by the following examples:

(61) a. *kumaar-ukku oru pustakam iru-kkiṟ-atu*
Kumar-dat a book be-pres-3sn
'Kumar has a book.'

b. *kumaar-ukku oru viiṭu veeṇṭ-um*
Kumar-dat a house want-fu+3sn
'Kumar wants a house.'

(62) a. *appaa·v-ukku·k kumaar-ai·t teri·y-um*
father-dat Kumar-acc know-fu+3sn
'Father knows Kumar.'

b. *appaa·v-ukku·k kumaar-ai·p piṭikk-um*
father-dat Kumar-acc like-fu+3sn
'Father likes Kumar.'

These sentence patterns, in which the dative case noun phrase exhibits subject-like behavior and expresses the semantic role of the recipient of an experience of possession or of an emotional/ mental experience, will be discussed in detail under 3.6 and 3.7

(v) point in time or duration of time.
Temporal nouns marked for dative case express either a point in time (63) or duration of time (64). Examples:

(63) *kumaar aintu maṇi-kku varu-v-aaṉ*
Kumar five hour-dat come-fu-3sm
'Kumar will come at five o'clock.'

(64) *kumaar aintu naaḷ-ukku veelai cey-kiṟ-aaṉ*
Kumar five day-dat work do-pres-3sm
'Kumar works for five days.'

With nouns like *neeṟṟu* 'yesterday', *iṉṟu* 'today', *naaḷai* 'tomorrow', the dative case suffix occurs optionally, e.g.

(65) *kumaar in̲r̲u(-kku) varu-kir-aan̲*
Kumar today-dat come-pres-3sm
'Kumar is coming today.'

(vi) proportion.
With temporal nouns the dative case suffix can also express the concept of proportion as 'per' or 'a' in English do. Example:

(66) *maruntu oru naaḷ-ukku muun̲r̲u veeḷai caappiṭu*
medicine a day-dat three time eat
'Take the medicine three times a day.'

(vii) distributive function.
The dative case marker can also express a distributive function, corresponding to 'each, every' in English. Example:

(67) *aaḷ-ukku oru ṭii pooṭu*
person-dat a tea put
'Make a tea for each one (each person).'

(viii) standard of comparison.
In a comparative construction, Tamil does not mark an adjective or adverb, but only the standard against which a comparison is made. One way of marking the standard of comparison is to use the dative case suffix. This marker is used in attributive sentences, which are syntactically realized as verbless sentences without a copula verb. Examples:

(68) a. *kumaar-ukku ivan̲ nalla·v-an̲*
Kumar-dat he nice-3sm
'He is nicer than Kumar.'

b. *atu-kku itu moocam*
that-dat this badness
'This is worse than that.'

(ix) reference point.
To conclude the discussion of the dative case, note that the dative case marker in Tamil does not only express the relation between a noun phrase and the verb, but also the relation between a noun phrase and a following noun phrase. Consider the following example:

(69) *matraas-ukku nuur̲u mail-il paanṭicceri*
Madras-dat hundred mile-loc Pondicherry
'Pondicherry is one hundred miles from Madras.'

In (69) the noun *matraas-ukku*, marked for dative case, stands in a relation to the following noun phrase *nuur̲u mail-il*. Here the dative case suffix marks a noun as referent of a spatial relation expressed by the following noun phrase *nuur̲u mail-il* 'in one hundred miles (distance)', that is it marks a noun as reference point (Paramasivam 1983:152). This function of the dative case marker occurs also in many postpositional phrases, where the dative case noun phrase expresses the reference point for the direction, spatial position, distance, etc, expressed by the postposition, see 2.23-27.

1.17
Benefactive case

The benefactive case is formed by the affixation of the bound postposition *-aaka* to the dative case suffix. Example:

paiyan̲ 'boy': *paiyan̲-ukku-aaka*

The bound postposition *-aaka* is actually the infinitive form of the verb *aaku* 'become', which has been grammaticalized to a bound postposition. Traditional native and later western grammarians have not included this bound postposition under case markers and thus not distinguished a benefactive case. The combination of dative case suffix + bound postposition *-aaka* marks a noun phrase as benefactor of an action or event, as expressed by 'for the sake of' in English. Example:

(70) *kumaar tan̲ paiyan̲-ukk-aaka·p paṇam ceer-tt-aan̲*
Kumar he(obl) boy-dat-ben money save-pst-3sm
'Kumar saves money for the sake of his boy.'

Note that—as in the case of nouns marked for accusative and dative case—when the noun marked for benefactive case is followed by a word beginning with one of the four stops *k*, *c*, *t*, *p*, then the respective stop is reduplicated and added to the preceding benefactive case noun.

The dative case suffix + *-aaka* can also express the reason of an action or event when the reason refers to a future consequence. Example:

(71) *kumaar appaa·v-ukk-aaka·c ciikkiram viiṭ·ṭu-kku va-nt-aan̲*
Kumar father-dat-ben fastness house-dat come-pst-3sm
'Because of father Kumar came home quickly.'

1.18
Instrumental case

The instrumental case marker is the case suffix *-aal*. Example:

paiyan̲ 'boy': *paiyan̲-aal*

The instrumental case suffix expresses the following semantic functions, as described by Paramasivam (1983:141): (i) instrument, (ii) means, (iii) source or material, (iv) reason, (v) cause, and (vi) agent. These are illustrated in the following examples.

(72) instrument
kumaar katti·y-aal paza-tt-ai veṭṭ-in̲-aan̲
Kumar knife-inst fruit-obl-acc cut-pst-3sm
'Kumar cut the fruit with a knife.'

(73) means
kumaar tan̲ conta an̲upava-tt-aal inta·t tozil-ai·k
Kumar he(obl) own experience-obl-inst this work-acc
kar̲rukkoṇ-ṭ-aan̲
learn-pst-3sm
'Kumar learned this work by means of his own experience.'

(74) source and material
kumaar maṇṇ-aal inta·p paan̲ai·y-ai·c cey-t-aan̲
Kumar sand-inst this pot-acc do-pst-3sm
'Kumar made this pot out of sand.'

(75) reason
veyil-aal kumaar var-a·v-ill-ai
heat-inst Kumar come-inf-be not-3pln
'Because of the heat Kumar didn't come.'

(76) cause
mazai·y-aal payir nan̲r̲-aaka vaḷar-nt-atu
rain-inst crops goodness-adv grow-pst-3sn
'Because of the rain the crops grew well.'

The instrumental case suffix also expresses the concept of agency with two stative auxiliary verbs. One is the passive auxiliary verb *paṭu*. Example:

(77) a. *kumaar appaa·v-aal aṭikk-a·p-paṭ·ṭ-aan̲*
Kumar father-inst beat-inf-experience-pst-3sm
'Kumar was beaten by father.'

The second verb is the abilitative modal auxiliary *muṭi*. See the following example:

b. *kumaar-aal inta veelai·y-ai·c cey·y-a muṭi·y-um*
Kumar-inst this work-acc do-inf can-fu+3sn
'Kumar can do this work.'

1.19
Sociative case

There are two sociative case markers: one is the case suffix *-ooṭu* and the other is the bound postposition *-uṭan̲*. Example:

paiyan̲ 'boy': *paiyan̲-ooṭu*
paiyan̲-uṭan̲

The sociative case marker principally expresses the comitative function. This function expresses that the referent of the sociative case noun phrase is involved in the action or event expressed by the sentence in the same way as the referent of another noun phrase is involved in the respective action or event—for instance, as the subject noun phrase in the examples (78a, b) or the object noun phrase in example (78c).

(78) a. *kumaar tan̲ man̲aivi·y-ooṭu/-uṭan̲ va-nt-aan̲*
Kumar he(obl) wife-soc come-pst-3sm
'Kumar came with his wife.'

b. *peen̲aa·v-ooṭu/-uṭan̲ oru pustakam kiizee vizu-nt-atu*
pen-soc a book down fall-pst-3sn
'Together with the pen a book fell down.'

c. *kumaar cattai·y-ootu/-utan oru paniyan vaank-in-aan*
Kumar shirt-soc a baniyan buy-pst-3sm
'Kumar bought a baniyan together with a shirt.'

Other functions expressed by the sociative case marker are manner and means:

(79) manner
kumaar anp-ootu/-utan ciri-tt-aan
Kumar love-soc laugh-pst-3sm
'Kumar smiled with love.'

(80) means
kumaar appaa·v-in utavi·y-ootu/-utan it-ai·p
Kumar father-euph help-soc this-acc
paṭi-tt-aan
study-pst-3sm
'Kumar studied this with father's help.'

The sociative case suffix *-ootu*, but not the bound postposition *-utan*, can also express a number of other concepts—some of them only with a restricted number of nouns and predicates. Examples:

(81) addition
kumaar naalu iṭli·y-ootu irantu puuri·y-um caappiṭ·ṭ-aan
Kumar four Idli-soc two Puri-also eat-pst-3sm
'In addition to four Idlis Kumar ate also two Puris.'

(82) location
kumaar eṅkaḷ viiṭ·ṭ-ootu iru-kkir-aan
Kumar we(obl) house-soc be-pres-3sm
'Kumar lives in our house permanently.'

(83) direction
kumaar teru·v-ootu nata-nt-aan
Kumar street-soc walk-pst-3sm
'Kumar walked along the street.'

(84) inclusion
cittirai maaca-tt-ootu tamiz varuṣam aarampi-kkir-atu
Chittra month-obl-soc Tamil year start-pres-3sn
'The Tamil year starts with the month of Chittra.'

(85) restriction
inta uur-il oru kooyil-ootu cari
this town-loc a temple-soc O.K.
'There is only one temple in this town.'

1.20
Locative case

There are two case markers for the locative case: the case suffix *-il* and the bound postposition *-iṭam*. They have, however, not identical distribution. Whereas the case suffix *-il* occurs both with inanimate and animate nouns (the latter only when plural), the bound postposition *-iṭam* occurs only with animate nouns. Example:

paiyan 'boy' : *paiyaṅ-kaḷ-il*
paiyan-iṭam
paal 'milk' : *paal-il*

We will first discuss the semantic functions of the case suffix *-il* and then those of the bound postposition *-iṭam*.

i) the locative case suffix *-il*.
The case suffix *-il* when occurring with inanimate nouns expresses: (i) location in space and time, and (ii) mode; when occurring with both inanimate and animate nouns, it expresses (iii) spatial interrelationship. Examples:

(86) a. location in space
kurivi mara-tt-il uṭkaar-kir-atu
bird tree-obl-loc sit-pres-3sn
'The bird is sitting on the tree.'

b. point of time (with future tense)
kumaar oru vaara-tt-il varu+v-aan
Kumar one week-obl-loc come-fu-3sm
'Kumar will come in one week.'

c. duration of time (with past tense)
kumaar oru vaara-tt-il inta·p pustaka-tt-ai·p
Kumar one week-obl-loc this book-obl-acc
paṭi-tt-aan
study-pst-3sm
'Kumar read this book in one week.'

(87) mode
kumaar tamiẓ-il peec-in̠-aan̠
Kumar Tamil-loc talk-pst-3sm
'Kumar talked in Tamil.'

(88) spatial interrelationship
a. with inanimate nouns
anta maampaẓaṅ-kaḷ-il enta·p paẓam rumaan̠i
that mango fruit-pl-loc which fruit Rumani
'Which fruits among those mangos are Rumani?'

b. with animate nouns
en̠ maaṇavar-kaḷ-il nir̠aiya·t tamiẓar iru-kkir̠-aarkaḷ
I(obl) student-pl-loc many Tamilian be-pres-3pl
'Among my students there are many Tamilians.'

ii) the locative (bound) postposition *-iṭam*.
The bound postposition *-iṭam*, which occurs only with animate nouns, expresses: (i) goal of motion, (ii) source of transaction, (iii) target of emotion, and (iv) temporary possession. Examples:

(89) goal of motion
kumaar appaa·v-iṭam va-nt-aan̠
Kumar father-loc come-pst-3sm
'Kumar came to father.'

(90) source of transaction
kumaar mantiri·y-iṭam oru paricu vaaṅk-in̠-aan̠
Kumar minister-loc a prize get-pst-3sm
'Kumar received a prize from the minister.'

(91) target of emotion
kumaar appaa·v-iṭam koopappaṭ·ṭ-aan̠
Kumar father-loc be angry-pst-3sm
'Kumar is angry with father.'

With verbs of transaction the locative case marker *-iṭam* marks the indirect object when the latter is meant to be the temporary possessor of the object of transaction. It contrasts with the dative case suffix, which marks the indirect object as the permanent possessor or actual owner of the object of transaction—see also 1.16 (i). Thus in the following example:

(92) *kumaar raajaa·v-iṭam oru pustakam koṭu-tt-aan̠*
Kumar Raja-loc a book give-pst-3sm
'Kumar gave Raja a book.'

the indirect object marked with the locative case marker, *raajaa·v-iṭam*, is only the temporary possessor of the book and will not keep it permanently.

1.21
Ablative case

The ablative case marker consists of the bound postposition *-iruntu*. This form is actually the verbal participle form of the verb *iru* 'be', which has been grammaticalized to a bound postposition. In the case of most nouns, this bound postposition is, however, not added directly to the noun or oblique stem. Instead, it is added to the noun inflected for locative case. Examples:

maram 'tree' : *mara-tt-il-iruntu*
paiyan̠ 'boy' : *paiyan̠-iṭam-iruntu*
paiyan̠-il-iruntu

In the case of place nouns, the ablative case marker is added directly to the noun stem. Examples:

aṅku 'that place, there' : *aṅk-iruntu*
meel 'superiority' : *meel-iruntu*

Optionally, the euphonic clitic *-ee* can occur between the noun stem and the ablative case marker, e.g. *aṅk(-ee·y)-iruntu*.
With direction nouns the ablative case marker is either added to the noun + locative case suffix or to the noun stem + euphonic clitic *-ee*. Example:

vaṭakku 'north': *vaṭakk-il-iruntu* or *vaṭakk-ee·y-iruntu*

When the ablative case marker occurs with inanimate nouns taking the locative case suffix *-il* or with animate nouns taking the locative case marker *-iṭam*, (i) source of motion, and (ii) separation from an entity is expressed. Examples:

(93) source of motion
a. *kumaar kooyil-il-iruntu va-nt-aan̲*
Kumar temple-loc-abl come-pst-3sm
'Kumar came from the temple.'

b. *kumaar mara-tt-il-iruntu viẓu-nt-aan̲*
Kumar tree-obl-loc-abl fall-pst-3sm
'Kumar fell from the tree.'

c. *kumaar appaa·v-iṭam-iruntu va-nt-aan̲*
Kumar father-loc-abl come-pst-3sm
'Kumar came from (his) father.'

(94) separation from entity
kumaar appaa·v-ai nerupp-il-iruntu/
Kumar father-acc fire-loc-abl
oru puli·y-iṭam-iruntu kaappaar̲r̲-in̲-aan̲
a tiger-loc-abl protect-pst-3sm
'Kumar protected father from fire/a tiger.'

When the ablative case marker occurs with animate nouns taking the locative case suffix *-il*, (i) source from which a selection is taken, and (ii) starting point of a series is expressed. Examples:

(95) source of selection
kumaar maaṇavar-kaḷ-il-iruntu oru nalla·v-an̲-ai·t
Kumar student-pl-loc-abl a good-3sm-acc
teernteṭu-tt-aan̲
select-pst-3sm
'Kumar selected from the students a good one.'

(96) starting point of series
mantiri·y-il-iruntu ellaarum lañcam vaaṅku-kir̲-aarkaḷ
minister-loc-abl everyone bribe take-pres-3pl
'From the minister on (down) everyone takes bribes.'
(Example from Ramanujan and Annamalai (1967))

1.22
Genitive case
Among cases, the genitive case plays a particular role: it marks the syntactic function of a noun phrase not in relation to a verb but to

another noun phrase. It marks a noun phrase as subordinate to, and as modifier of another noun—its head. The semantic relation between the subordinate NP modifier (that is the genitive NP) and the noun head may be manifold, for example, it may be the relation of possession, as in 'John's dog'. The grammatical literature lists three suffixes as case marker for the genitive case in Tamil: *-in̲*, *-uṭaiya*, and *-atu*. A noun phrase to which one of these suffixes is added occurs as noun modifier and expresses the various semantic relations to its head, which a genitive NP in universal grammar can express, e.g. the one of possession. This is shown by the following examples:

(97) a. *anta man̲itan̲* { *-in̲* / *-uṭaiya* / *-atu* } *caṭṭai*
that man shirt
'the shirt of that man'

b. *per̲r̲oor-kaḷ* { *-in̲* / *-uṭaiya* / *-atu* } *paacam*
parent-pl attachment
'the attachment of parents'

c. *kumaar* { *-in̲* / *-uṭaiya* / *-atu* } *paḷḷikkuuṭam*
Kumar school
'the school of Kumar'

Even though nouns with these suffixes express the syntactic and semantic functions expressed by genitive nouns in other languages, not all the three nouns with their respective suffixes have the categorical status of case marked nouns in Tamil. The reason is that only one of the three suffixes *-in̲*, *-uṭaiya*, and *-atu* has the categorical status of a case marker. This will be demonstrated in the following:

i) the suffix *-in̲*. When this suffix occurs with nouns which function as noun modifiers, as in (97), it displays the same distributional properties as the euphonic increment *-in̲* discussed under 1.12. This suggests that the suffix *-in̲* in (97) is not a separate case suffix, but the euphonic increment *-in̲* and that, therefore, the latter does not only occur before case suffixes or with nouns followed by postpositions, but also with nouns functioning as noun modifiers, as already proposed under 1.12.

Thus, when a first or second person pronoun occurs as noun modifier, the suffix *-in̲* cannot occur with the former's oblique form: * *en̲-in̲ viiṭu*, but *en̲ viiṭu* 'my house', in the same way as the euphonic increment *-in̲* cannot occur with the oblique form of these pronouns. As mentioned under 1.12, the euphonic increment *-in̲* can also not occur with the third person neuter pronouns *atu* 'that-it' and *itu* 'this-it'. Instead the euphonic increment *-an̲* occurs. Likewise, when such a pronoun occurs as noun modifier, the suffix *-in̲* cannot occur, but the suffix *-an̲* occurs: * *at-in̲ vilai*, but *at-an̲ vilai* 'the price of that'. Since the suffix *-in̲* on noun modifiers behaves thus like the euphonic increment *-in̲*, we conclude that the suffix *-in̲* on noun modifiers is identical with the euphonic increment *-in̲*. Thus the suffix *-in̲* in (97) is not a case suffix, but the euphonic inrement *-in̲*, which also occurs on nouns when they function as noun modifier.

ii) the suffix *-uṭaiya*. Formally this suffix is the tenseless adjectival participle form of the defective verb *uṭai* 'posses', which occurs as a bound form added to noun phrases. Syntactically it renders a noun phrase as adjectival. Note that a noun phrase + *-uṭaiya* behaves syntactically like an adjectival and not like a nominal. Thus, a noun + *-uṭaiya* cannot occur in predicate position, as shown by (98a), since adjectivals in Tamil cannot occur in that position. Instead, adjectivals in predicate position have to be nominalized. In this respect a noun + *-uṭaiya* behaves exactly like an adjectival, that is, it has to be nominalized in predicate position, as shown by (98b). Finally, as adjectival it can, of course, occur as noun modifier, as in (98c):

(98) a. * *paḷḷikkuuṭam kumaar-uṭaiya*
school Kumar-adj
'The school is Kumar's.'

b. *paḷḷikkuuṭam kumaar-uṭaiya-tu*
school Kumar-adj-3sn
'The school is the one of Kumar (which Kumar possesses).'

c. *kumaar-uṭaiya paḷḷikkuuṭam*
Kumar-adj school
'the school of Kumar (which Kumar possesses)'

iii) the suffix *-atu*. This suffix has to be analyzed as a genitive case suffix in Modern Tamil. Historically it is, however, a pronominal suffix—the third person-singular-neuter suffix. When this pronominal suffix is added to a noun, it forms a complex NP consisting of a pronominal head

preceded by a noun, e.g. *kumaar-atu* 'the one of Kumar'. In Modern Tamil this form does not occur as nominal in all the various nominal positions anymore. However, it can still occur in the nominal predicate position (of a verbless clause) apart from its position as noun modifier:

(99) a. *kumaar-atu paḷḷikkuuṭam*
Kumar-gen school
'Kumar's school'

b. *paḷḷikkuuṭam kumaar-atu*
school Kumar-gen
'The school is the one of Kumar.'

Since in Modern Tamil the addition of the suffix *-atu* to a noun does not allow the resulting form to occur in all NP positions and to take case markers—as it does in Old Tamil, we do not analyze this suffix as a pronominal suffix, but as a genitive case marker in Modern Tamil. Finally note that with many nouns the euphonic increment *-in̲* occurs obligatorily before the genitive case suffix *-atu*, e.g. *viiṭ·ṭ-in̲-atu katavu* 'the door of the house'. To sum up the discussion of the genitive case, when a noun occurs as modifier of another noun and thereby expresses various semantic functions, e.g. possession, then the respective noun can be unmarked and occur in the oblique form (100a), or it can be marked either with the euphonic increment *-in̲* (100b) or with the genitive case suffix *-atu* (100c) or by both (100d), or it can be marked by the adjectival suffix *-uṭaiya* (100e):

(100) a. noun in oblique form
mara-ttu·k kiḷai
tree-obl branch
'the branch of the tree'

b. noun + euphonic increment *-in̲*
aracan̲-in̲ muṭi
king-euph crown
'the crown of the king'

c. noun + genitive suffix *-atu*
aracan̲-atu muṭi
king-gen crown
'the crown of the king'

d. noun + euphonic increment + genitive suffix
naay-iṉ-atu *vaal*
dog-euph-gen tail
'the tail of the dog'

e. noun + adjectival suffix *-uṭaiya*
naay-uṭaiya *vaal*
dog-adj tail
'the tail of the dog'

1.23
Noun paradigms

To conclude the discussion of case marking, we give two noun paradigms—one for the inanimate noun *kaal* 'leg' and one for the animate noun *paiyaṉ* 'boy'. Remember that the locative case suffix *-il* does not occur with animate nouns in the singular—except when followed by the ablative case suffix—and that the locative bound postposition *-iṭam* does not occur with inanimate nouns.

TABLES 4-5. **Noun paradigms**

kaal 'leg'

Case	Singular	Plural
Nominative	*kaal*	*kaal-kaḷ*
Accusative	*kaal-ai*	*kaal-kaḷ-ai*
Dative	*kaal-ukku*	*kaal-kaḷ-ukku*
Benefactive	*kaal-ukk-aaka*	*kaal-kaḷ-ukk-aaka*
Instrumental	*kaal-aal*	*kaal-kaḷ-aal*
Sociative	*kaal-ooṭu*	*kaal-kaḷ-ooṭu*
	kaal-uṭaṉ	*kaal-kaḷ-uṭaṉ*
Locative	*kaal-il*	*kaal-kaḷ-il*
Ablative	*kaal-il-iruntu*	*kaal-kaḷ-il-iruntu*
Genitive	*kaal-iṉ-atu*	*kaal-kaḷ-atu*

paiyaṉ 'boy'

Case	Singular	Plural
Nominative	*paiyaṉ*	*paiyaṅ-kaḷ*
Accusative	*paiyaṉ-ai*	*paiyaṅ-kaḷ-ai*
Dative	*paiyaṉ-ukku*	*paiyaṅ-kaḷ-ukku*
Benefactive	*paiyaṉ-ukk-aaka*	*paiyaṅ-kaḷ-ukk-aaka*
Instrumental	*paiyaṉ-aal*	*paiyaṅ-kaḷ-aal*
Sociative	*paiyaṉ-ooṭu*	*paiyaṅ-kaḷ-ooṭu*
	paiyaṉ-uṭaṉ	*paiyaṅ-kaḷ-uṭaṉ*
Locative	*paiyaṉ-iṭam*	*paiyaṅ-kaḷ-iṭam*
		paiyaṅ-kaḷ-il
Ablative	*paiyaṉ-iṭam-iruntu*	*paiyaṅ-kaḷ-iṭam-iruntu*
	paiyaṉ-il-iruntu	*paiyaṅ-kaḷ-il-iruntu*
Genitive	*paiyaṉ-atu*	*paiyaṅ-kaḷ-atu*

1.24
Defective nouns

Nouns have been defined under 1.3 as those words which can take case suffixes and the so-called adverbializing suffix *-aaka*/ *-aay*. There are, however, a number of nouns which cannot cooccur with all of the above given case suffixes, that is there are a number of nouns which have defective morphology. For example, a number of place nouns like, *iṅku* 'this place, here', *aṅku* 'that place, there', *muṉ* 'anteriority', *piṉ* 'posteriority', etc., can occur with the ablative case marker, as shown under 1.21, and also with the dative case marker, as shown by the following examples:

(101) a. *kumaar* *muṉṉ-ukku* *va-nt-aaṉ*
Kumar anteriority-dat come-pst-3sm
'Kumar came up (forward).'

b. *aṅku-kku* *iṅku* *nalla-tu*
that place-dat this place nice-3sn
'This place is nicer than that place.'

However, they cannot occur with the instrumental and sociative case marker, for instance. Another example is the noun *uṭaṉ* 'immediacy'. This noun occurs only with one case marker—the dative case suffix *-ukku*, as in the reduplicated form *uṭaṉ-ukku uṭaṉ* 'immediately'.

1.25
Definition of verbs

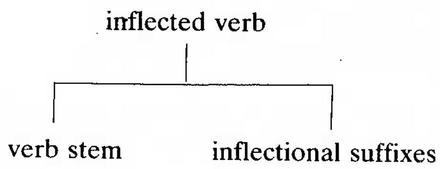
Verbs are defined as those words which can take tense suffixes, person-number-gender suffixes, and a few other verbal suffixes, for example, those marking non-finiteness of the verb. As in the case of nouns, there are a number of verbs which have defective morphology, that is cannot take all verbal suffixes. They will be likewise referred to as defective verbs.

Verb inflection
1.26

Tamil verb forms can be distinguished into finite, non-finite, and nominalized verb forms. The definition of finite and non-finite verb forms is syntactical rather than morphological. There is no morphological property which would mark all finite or all non-finite verb forms. Roughly speaking, finite verb forms occur as predicate of the main clause, that is they end a sentence. Non-finite verb forms, on the other hand, occur as predicate of an embedded or subordinate clause, or in compound verb constructions.

Finite verb forms can be inflected for the categories of mood, that is imperative, optative, and indicative. In the latter case verbs are inflected for the categories of tense and person, number, gender. Non-finite and nominalized verb forms are inflected for tense—in some cases—and for the relational category which indicates the subordinate or nominal status of the verb. Moreover, both finite and non-finite verb forms have positive and negative forms, though not in all cases. The inflected verb form in Tamil is thus the phonemic realization of a number of morphemes, e.g. verb, imperative, optative, tense, person, number, gender morphemes, subordinating morphemes, and the negative operator. In the phonemic realization of these morphemes, one morph realizes either one morpheme only or a number of morphemes. All morphs occur as inflectional suffixes added to the verb, which appears in a stem form. This is shown by the following representation:

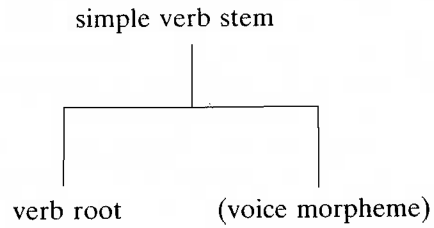
(102)



Verb stem
1.27

The verb stem is the form of the verb to which inflectional suffixes are added. The verb stem is also the form of the verb which is used as imperative singular for the second person and it is the form of the verb which occurs in the lexicon. A verb stem may be simple or derived. A simple or non-derived verb stem may be morphologically complex. As shown by the following representation, a simple verb stem consists minimally of a lexical root morpheme, to which a voice morpheme is added in the case of a great number of verbs.

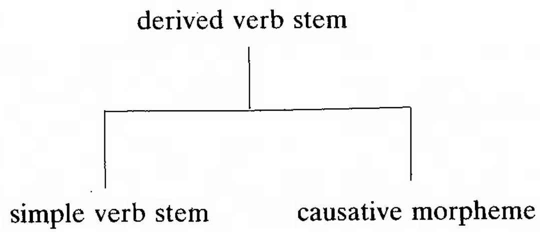
(103)



The voice morpheme consists of one of two morphemes which stand in opposition to each other. One member of this opposition expresses what Paramasivam (1979) calls affective voice and the other member expresses effective voice. For an explanation of these concepts see below.

A derived verb stem consists of a simple verb stem and a derivational suffix marking causativity:

(104)



1.28
Verb root

The first and the only obligatory element of the (simple) verb stem is the verbal root morpheme, which gives the lexical meaning of the verb stem. The verbal root is the irreducible lexical morpheme of a verb.

1.29
Effective and affective voice morpheme

The root can be followed by a second element: a voice morpheme. About sixty percent of the Tamil verbs contain such a voice morpheme in their stem. If such a voice morpheme follows a verb root morpheme, it occurs never optionally, but always obligatorily. As mentioned above, the voice morpheme consists of one of two morphemes which stand in opposition to each other. One member of this opposition expresses affective voice and the other member effective voice (Paramasivam 1979). If a verbal root can occur with one member of this opposition, then it can also occur with the other member. However, both morphemes cannot cooccur. Thus, verbal roots occurring with a voice morpheme have a pair of verb stems, of which one verb stem contains a morpheme for affective voice and the other verb stem a morpheme for effective voice.

The distinction between the two semantic properties of affective vs. effective voice is due to Paramasivam (1979). Affectivity is defined by Paramasivam as follows (p.20): "An affective verb is one the subject of which undergoes the action (or state or change of state) described by the verb stem". Thus in the following example with the verb stem *tirumpu* 'turn' (Paramasivam 1979:6) the respective subject—*talai* 'head'—undergoes the event of 'turning'.

(105) *avan̲-uṭaiya talai tirump-i·y-atu*
he-adj head turn-pst-3sn
'His head turned.'

The verb stem *tirumpu* is thus an affective verb stem. An effective verb stem, on the other hand, is one which represents an action of the subject on external objects (Paramasivam 1979:23), that is a verb stem whose subject does not undergo an action or event, but effects an action on the object, which is affected by that action. Thus the verb stem *tiruppu* 'turn' is effective since its subject effects an action on an object, as shown by the following example from Paramasivam (p.6).

(106) *avan̲ talai·y-ai·t tirupp-in̲-aan̲*
he head-acc turn-pst-3sm
'He turned his head.'

Since the affective vs. effective distinction describes the role of the subject in instigating or undergoing an action or event, it qualifies as a kind of voice (Steever 1983:87).

Both the affective verb stem *tirumpu* and the effective verb stem *tiruppu* can be analyzed as a pair of verb stems from one root morpheme—the root *tiru-*. This root morpheme takes the affective voice allomorph *-mpu* to form the affective verb stem *tiru-mpu* and the effective voice allomorph *-ppu* to form the effective verb stem *tiru-ppu*. Apart from the allomorphs *-mpu* and *-ppu*, there are other pairs of allmorphs which realize the pair of voice morphemes. Common is that the affective allomorph contains a single obstruent, whereas the effective allomorph contains a geminated obstruent. Other examples follow:

-ku	vs.	*-kku*,	e.g.	*peru-ku*	'increase' (e.g. 'it increases')
				peru-kku	'increase' (e.g. 'he increased')
-ntu	vs.	*-ttu*,	e.g.	*tiru-ntu*	'become correct'
				tiru-ttu	'correct (something)'
-mpu	vs.	*-ppu*,	e.g.	*nira-mpu*	'be full'
				nira-ppu	'fill'
-ṭu	vs.	*-ṭṭu*,	e.g.	*oo-ṭu*	'run'
				oo-ṭṭu	'drive'

According to this analysis, a verb stem consists only of a verb root in the case of some verbs, e.g. *eẓutu* 'write', or of a verb root and a voice allomorph in the case of paired verb stems from one and the same verbal root, e.g. *tiru-mpu* 'turn' and *tiru-ppu* 'turn'.

An alternative analysis is given in Stever (1983:80). A form like *tirumpu* or *tiruppu* is regarded as one morph, which realizes two morphemes: the root morpheme and the voice morpheme. According to this analysis, the complex structure of a simple verb stem (103) would only be on an underlying level. On the phonological level, the two abstract morphemes—root morpheme and voice morpheme—would be realized by one portmanteau morph, e.g. *tirumpu* or *tiruppu*. On the other hand, according to the former analysis, the bi-morphemic structure on underlying level (103) would also be realized as such on the phonological level.

On the basis of the preceding discussion one might assume that the semantic properties of affectivity and effectivity are morphophonologically always realized in the verb stem (by means of a single or geminated obstruent, as in *tiru-mpu* vs. *tiru-ppu*). However, Paramasivam shows that the affective/effective distinction manifests itself also by a single/geminated obstruent distinction in the first affix-initial position. Consider the following examples:

(107) a. *avan̲-uṭaiya paan̲ai uṭai-nt-atu*
he-adj pot break-pst-3sn
'His pot broke.'

b. *avan̲ paan̲ai-y-ai uṭai-tt-aan̲*
he pot-acc break-pst-3sm
'He broke the pot.'

The verb stem *uṭai* in sentence a. is affective, while the verb stem *uṭai* in sentence b. is effective. In this case the semantic features of affectivity vs. effectivity are not morphophonologically realized in the verb stem. In both cases the morphophonemic shape of the verb stem is identical. Notice, however, that the affective verb form in sentence a. contains a single obstruent in the affix-initial position, that is the tense morph, and the effective verb form in sentence b. contains a geminated obstruent in that affix initial position: *-nt* vs. *- tt*. Assuming that all affective/effective verb stems have an abstract, underlying strucure, which is bi-morphemic, as given under (103), then following Steever (1983:84-5), one can analyze forms like *uṭai-nt-aan̲* and *uṭai-tt-aan̲* as those where the voice morpheme of the stem and the following tense morpheme combine to one portmanteau morph *-nt* and *-tt*, respectively, on the phonological level.

1.30
Derived verb stem

A derived verb stem can be formed from a simple verb stem by the addition of a causative suffix which consists of the allomorphs *-vi*, *-pi*, and *-ppi*. In Modern Tamil this derivational process is very much restricted: only the causative suffix *-vi* occurs with a number of verb stems: Examples:

teri	'know'	+ *-vi*	—>	*teri-vi*	'cause to know, inform'
ar̲i	'know'	+ *-vi*	—>	*ar̲i-vi*	'cause to know, announce'
viṭu	'leave'	+ *-vi*	—>	*viṭu-vi*	'cause to leave, liberate'

Paramasivam (1979) notes that it is not predictable whether a causative verb stem can be derived from a simple verb stem and that, therefore, a causative verb stem must be listed in the lexicon. As described by Paramasivam, the derivational process of forming a causative verb stem from a simple verb stem was more widespread in Middle Tamil than in

Modern Tamil. In Middle Tamil all the three allomorphs of the causative suffix can occur. Example:

vaa	'come'	+ *-vi*	—>	*varu-vi* 'cause to come'
keeḷ	'listen'	+ *-pi*	—>	*keeṭ-pi* 'cause to listen'
eṭu	'take'	+ *-ppi*	—>	*eṭu-ppi* 'cause to take'

1.31
Weak vs. middle vs. strong verb stems

We mentioned above that the verb stem is the form of the verb to which inflectional suffixes are added, the form which occurs as imperative singular for the second person, and the form which is listed in the lexicon. Thus, the forms *tuuṅku* 'sleep', *keeḷ* 'ask, listen', and *naṭa* 'walk' are verb stems and as such they take inflectional suffixes and occur as imperatives, for example. However, a number of verb stems, e.g. *keeḷ* and *naṭa*, but not *tuuṅku*, are augmented by a phoneme or phoneme cluster. This phoneme (cluster) appears when an inflectional suffix beginning with a vowel, but not with a consonant, is added to the verb stem. It consists of the single stop *k* in the case of some verbs, e.g. *keeḷ*, and of a doubled stop *kk* in the case of other verbs, e.g. *naṭa*. This phoneme (cluster) has no semantic, but only a phonological function. It may be analyzed as a phonological suffix or empty morph (however, we will not mark it here as such by the suffix indicating symbol "-").

A verb stem which is augmented by the double stop *kk* when an inflectional suffix beginning with a vowel is added is called a strong stem. For example, the verb stem *naṭa* 'walk' is a strong stem. When a vowel initial suffix, e.g. the infinitive suffix *-a* is added, it is augmented by the double stop *kk*, e.g. *naṭa-kk-a*. When, however, a consonant initial suffix, e.g. the past tense suffix *-nt-*, is added, it appears in its normal stem form *naṭa*, e.g. *naṭa-nt-een̲* '(I) walked'.

A verb stem which is augmented with the single stop *k* when an inflectional suffix beginning with a vowel is added is called a middle stem. For instance, the verb stem *keeḷ* 'ask, listen' is a middle stem. When a vowel initial suffix, the infinitive suffix *-a*, for example, is added, the verb stem is augmented by the single stop *k* (morphophonemic rules operate when the stop *k* is added to the verb stem *keeḷ*, resulting in a phonemic change of the verb stem final lateral), e.g. *keeṭ-k-a*. When, however, a consonant initial suffix, e.g. the past tense allomorph *-t-*, is added, the verb stem occurs in its normal form (here also morphophonemic rules operate when *-t-* is added to the verb stem *keeḷ*, resulting in

morphophonemic changes of both the verb stem final lateral and the suffix *-t-*), e.g. *keeṭ-ṭ-een̲* '(I) asked'.

A verb stem which is not augmented when an inflectional suffix beginning with a vowel is added is called a weak stem. For example, the verb stem *tuuṅku* is a weak stem. When the vowel initial infinitive suffix *-a* is added, the verb stem is not augmented by the single or geminated stop(s) *k/kk*, resulting in the form *tuuṅk-a*.

All Tamil verb stems can thus be classified into weak, middle, and strong stems.

In order to present the various inflectional suffixes which are added to the verb stem, we will first divide all Tamil verb forms into finite and non-finite and nominalized verb forms—see above—and distinguish the various types of these verb forms. Doing so, we will present the various inflectional suffixes which are added to the verb stem.

Finite verb forms
1.32
The various finite verb forms can be distinguished according to the category of mood—for which see 3.16—into:

- imperative
- indicative
- optative

verb forms. Other moods and modalities are not realized by verbal inflection, but by auxiliary verbs, and will be discussed separately.

Imperative
1.33
Modern Tamil distinguishes between singular and plural imperative forms. Both the singular and plural imperative forms are further distinguished into positive and negative forms. One of the imperative forms is also overtly marked for the category of person, that is for second person. The various imperative forms can thus be analyzed as the phonological realization of the following morphemes in underlying structure:

(108) verb + imperative + person (+ negative) (+ plural)

1.34
Singular imperative (positive)
The positive singular imperative form is identical with the verb stem and thus devoid of any marker. Examples:

(109) *tuuṅku* 'sleep'
keeḷ 'ask'
naṭa 'walk'

This shows that the imperative and second person morpheme (108) are not overtly expressed and are realized by a zero morph each.

1.35
Singular imperative (negative)
The negative singular imperative form consists of the verb stem, to which the negative allomorph *-aat* is suffixed, followed by the euphonic suffix *-ee*:

(110) verb stem + *-aat* + *-ee*

See the following examples for illustration:

(111) *tuuṅk-aat-ee* 'do not sleep'
keeṭ·k-aat-ee ' do not ask'
naṭa·kk-aat-ee ' do not walk'

In these forms the imperative and second person morpheme (108) are also realized by a zero morph. Only the negative morpheme is overtly realized by the negative allomorph *-aat*.

1.36
Plural imperative (positive)
The positive plural imperative form consists of the verb stem and the plural suffix *-(u)ṅkaḷ*:

(112) verb stem + *-(u)ṅkaḷ*

The plural suffix *-(u)ṅkaḷ* can be interpreted both for singular number and honorific status and for plural number (irrespective of status). This imperative form can be used to address either a single individual of honorific status or a group of individuals. Examples:

(113) *tuuṅk-uṅkaḷ* '(please) sleep'
keeḷ-uṅkaḷ '(please) ask'
naṭa-ṅkaḷ '(please) walk'

Whereas the imperative and plural morpheme (108) can be analyzed as being realized by the morph *-(u)ṅkaḷ*, the second person morpheme is in this form also realized by a zero morph.

1.37
Plural imperative (negative)

The negative plural imperative form consists of the verb stem, followed by the negative allomorph *-aat*, and then by the second person plural suffix *-iirkaḷ*:

(114) verb stem + *-aat* + *-iirkaḷ*

This is illustrated by the following examples:

(115) *tuuṅk-aat-iirkaḷ* '(please) do not sleep'
keeṭ·k-aat-iirkaḷ '(please) do not ask'
naṭa·kk-aat-iirkaḷ '(please) do not walk'

While the negative morpheme is realized by the allomorph *-aat*, both the second person and the plural morphemes are realized by one morph only, *-iirkaḷ*, and the imperative morpheme is again realized by a zero morph. As in the case of the positive plural imperative form, the second person plural suffix *-iirkaḷ* can be interpreted either for second person, singular number, and honorific status, or for second person and plural number.

1.38
Imperative + suffixes

There are two types of suffixes which can be added to the imperative forms:

- the interrogative word *-eeṉ* 'why' which has acquired suffixal status in this case, and
- various nouns—mainly kinship terms—which occur also as suffixes in this case and function as address markers.

When the interrogative word *-eeṉ* 'why' is suffixed to an imperative

form, the command or request expressed by the imperative is changed into a suggestion. Examples:

(116) *vaa·y-eeṉ*
come-why
'Why don't you come.'

(117) *keeḷ-uṅkaḷ-eeṉ*
ask-imp+pl-why
'Why don't you ask.'

A number of nouns—mostly kinship terms—are also suffixed to the imperative forms. In this case they function as address markers and indicate, in general, the speaker's and addressee's social status or kinship relation, that is, they express the speaker's respect or disrespect, formality or familiarity, affection or irritation with the addressee. The following nouns *aṭaa* 'male comrade', *aṭi* 'female comrade' (both nouns are defective in morphology and occur only with vocative function), *ayyaa* 'sir', *appaa* 'father', *ammaa* 'mother, madam', *aṇṇaaṉ* 'elder brother', and *akkaa* 'elder sister' are suffixed to the various imperative forms after getting a suffixal status by deleting their initial vowel *a*. Examples with the imperative forms of the verb *vaa* 'come' in singular and plural:

(118) *vaa-ṭaa*
vaa-ṭi
vaa-yyaa
etc.

(119) *vaar-uṅkaḷ-ṭaa*
vaar-uṅkaḷ-ṭi
vaar-uṅkaḷ-mmaa
etc.

Indicative verb forms
1.39

Tamil has both positive and negative indicative verb forms. Positive indicative verb forms are marked for the category of tense, person, number, and gender + status. Negative indicative verb forms are, however, not marked in the same way for these categories as the positive indicative forms are. There is no one-to-one correspondence between positive and negative indicative forms.

Positive indicative verb forms

1.40

As mentioned above, positive indicative verb forms are marked for the categories of tense, person, number, and gender + status. The verb combines with its verb stem—discussed under 1.27-31—with a tense morpheme and with three morphemes of person, number, and gender + status as shown in the following representation:

(120) verb stem + tense + person + number + gender

Alternatively, the person, number, gender morphemes can be analyzed as one pronominal morpheme with the feature content of person, number, gender and status:

(121) verb stem + tense + pronominal

In the phonological realization of these morphemes, the tense morpheme is realized by a number of allomorphs in the case of the majority of verbs, or by the morphological process of doubling of a verb stem final consonant in the case of a few verbs.

On the other hand, the three morphemes of person, number, and gender + status are realized by one person-number-gender morph. As a result, most positive indicative verb forms can be segmentized into a verb stem and two inflectional suffixes:

(122) verb stem + tense suffix + person-number-gender suffix

1.41

Verb stem

The verb stem to which the tense suffixes are added has been discussed under 1.27-31.

1.42

Tense suffixes

Modern Tamil distinguishes between three tenses: past, present, and future. Each tense morpheme is realized by a number of tense suffixes or allomorphs.

For the present tense there are two allomorphs:

-kiṟ-, *-kkiṟ-* (stylistic variants: *-kiṉṟ-*, *-kkiṉṟ-*)

The past tense has five allomorphs:

-t-, *-nt-*, *-iṉ-*, *-i-*, *-tt-*

The future tense has three allomorphs:

-v-, *-p-*, *-pp-*

A given verb occurs only with one allomorph of each set. An exception to this are the past tense allomorphs *-iṉ* and *-i*. According to the various tense allomorphs a verb stem takes, that is, according to the set of tense allomorphs occurring with a particular verb stem, Tamil verbs can be divided into several classes. A number of classifications have been suggested in the literature. The one mostly accepted is the classification by Graul given in Arden (1942:144).

According to this classification, Tamil verbs are divided into seven classes of which two of them have subclasses. There are, however, a number of irregular verbs which have to be listed separately. See now the table of the seven classes of verbs and the respective tense suffixes.

TABLE 6. **Verb classes and their tense suffixes.**

Class	Present Tense	Past Tense	Future Tense
I	*-kiṟ-*	*-t-*	*-v-*
II	*-kiṟ-*	*-nt-*	*-v-*
III	*-kiṟ-*	*-iṉ-*	*-v-*
		-i-	
IV	*-kiṟ-*	doubling	*-v-*
V	*-kiṟ-*	*-t-*	*-p-*
VI	*-kkiṟ-*	*-tt-*	*-pp-*
VII	*-kkiṟ-*	*-nt-*	*-pp-*

Verbs of class I to IV have a weak stem, verbs of class V have a middle stem, and verbs of class VI and VII have a strong stem. See 1.31 for the definition of a weak, middle, and strong stem. As noted in the above tabulation, with verbs of class IV, which all end in *ṭu*, *ṟu* or *ku*, the past tense morpheme is not realized by a tense suffix, but by reduplication of the consonant of the final syllable *ṭu*, *ṟu* or *ku*. Examples:

(123) *pooṭu* 'put' : *pooṭ·ṭ-*
peṟu 'get' : *peṟ·ṟ-*
puku 'enter': *puk·k-*

Examples of the affixation of the various tense suffixes to the respective verb stems are given in the inflectional paradigms under 1.44. The semantic functions of the tense suffixes will be discussed later under 1.46.

1.43
Person-number-gender suffixes

The second inflectional suffix after the verb stem is a person-number-gender (or pronominal) suffix. This suffix may be analyzed as a portmanteau morph, which realizes the three morphemes of person, number, gender + status. Alternatively, this suffix may be analyzed as a morph which represents a pronominal morpheme with the feature content [person, number, gender, status]. By means of these suffixes the subject noun phrase codes agreement on the finite verb. See the following table of person-number-gender suffixes and their corresponding personal pronouns, that is the pronouns they agree with.

TABLE 7. **Person-number-gender suffixes**

Personal pronouns	Person-number-gender suffix
naaṉ 'I'	*-eeṉ*
nii 'you'	*-aay*
avaṉ 'he'	*-aaṉ*
avaḷ 'she'	*-aaḷ*
atu 'it'	*-atu, -tu, -um*
avar 'he, she (hon)'	*-aar*
naaṅkaḷ, naam 'we'	*-oom*
niiṅkaḷ 'you'	*-iirkaḷ*
avarkaḷ 'they'	*-aarkaḷ*
avai 'they (ntr)'	*-a*

Person-number-gender suffixes agree with all personal pronouns, except with the fourth person pronouns *taaṉ* and *taaṅkaḷ*. Since the latter are gender unmarked, any of the four third person-singular-gender suffixes *-aaṉ, -aaḷ, -atu, -aar*, or any of the two third person-plural-gender suffixes *-aarkaḷ, -a* can occur.

In the case of the first person plural pronouns—*naaṅkaḷ* 'we (exclusive)' and *naam* 'we (inclusive)'—one and the same person-number-gender suffix occurs with both pronouns, e.g. *naaṅkaḷ/naam paṭi-kkiṟ-oom* 'we study'.

1.44
Inflectional paradigms

The inflection of the indicative verb with tense suffixes and person-number-gender suffixes is straightforward. The verb stem of a given class takes a tense suffix of the set of tense allomorphs assigned to the respective class—see table 6—and then a person-number-gender suffix is added. Nevertheless, in the distribution of tense suffixes and person-number-gender suffixes there are a number of irregular verb forms in the inflectional paradigm. Before we discuss the individual cases, we will first give the inflectional paradigms of verbs belonging to each of the seven classes.

TABLES 8-14. **Verb paradigms**

Class I: *aẓu* 'weep'

Person	Present	Past	Future
1s	*aẓu-kiṟ-eeṉ*	*aẓu-t-eeṉ*	*aẓu-v-eeṉ*
2s	*aẓu-kiṟ-aay*	*aẓu-t-aay*	*aẓu-v-aay*
3sm	*aẓu-kiṟ-aaṉ*	*aẓu-t-aaṉ*	*aẓu-v-aaṉ*
3sf	*aẓu-kiṟ-aaḷ*	*aẓu-t-aaḷ*	*aẓu-v-aaḷ*
3sn	*aẓu-kiṟ-atu*	*aẓu-t-atu*	*aẓ-um*
3smf	*aẓu-kiṟ-aar*	*aẓu-t-aar*	*aẓu-y-aar*
1pl	*aẓu-kiṟ-oom*	*aẓu-t-oom*	*aẓu-v-oom*
2pl	*aẓu-kiṟ-iirkaḷ*	*aẓu-t-iirkaḷ*	*aẓu-v-iirkaḷ*
3plmf	*aẓu-kiṟ-aarkaḷ*	*aẓu-t-aarkaḷ*	*aẓu-v-aarkaḷ*
3pln	*aẓu-kiṉṟ-aṉ-a*	*aẓu-t-aṉ-a*	*aẓ-um*

Class II: *viẓu* 'fall'

Person	Present	Past	Future
1s	*viẓu-kiṟ-eeṉ*	*viẓu-nt-eeṉ*	*viẓu-v-eeṉ*
2s	*viẓu-kiṟ-aay*	*viẓu-nt-aay*	*viẓu-v-aay*
3sm	*viẓu-kiṟ-aaṉ*	*viẓu-nt-aaṉ*	*viẓu-v-aaṉ*
3sf	*viẓu-kiṟ-aaḷ*	*viẓu-nt-aaḷ*	*viẓu-v-aaḷ*
3sn	*viẓu-kiṟ-atu*	*viẓu-nt-atu*	*viẓ-um*
3smf	*viẓu-kiṟ-aar*	*viẓu-nt-aar*	*viẓu-v-aar*
1pl	*viẓu-kiṟ-oom*	*viẓu-nt-oom*	*viẓu-v-oom*
2pl	*viẓu-kiṟ-iirkaḷ*	*viẓu-nt-iirkaḷ*	*viẓu-v-iirkaḷ*
3plmf	*viẓu-kiṟ-aarkaḷ*	*viẓu-nt-aarkaḷ*	*viẓu-v-aarkaḷ*
3pln	*viẓu-kiṉṟ-aṉ-a*	*viẓu-nt-aṉ-a*	*viẓ-um*

Class III: *tuuṅku* 'sleep'

Person	Present	Past	Future
1s	*tuuṅku-kiṟ-eeṉ*	*tuuṅk-iṉ-eeṉ*	*tuuṅku-v-eeṉ*
2s	*tuuṅku-kiṟ-aay*	*tuuṅk-iṉ-aay*	*tuuṅku-v-aay*
3sm	*tuuṅku-kiṟ-aaṉ*	*tuuṅk-iṉ-aaṉ*	*tuuṅku-v-aaṉ*
3sf	*tuuṅku-kiṟ-aaḷ*	*tuuṅk-iṉ-aaḷ*	*tuuṅku-v-aaḷ*
3sn	*tuuṅku-kiṟ-atu*	*tuuṅk-i·y-atu* *tuuṅk-iṟ-ṟu*	*tuuṅk-um*
3smf	*tuuṅku-kiṟ-aar*	*tuuṅk-iṉ-aar*	*tuuṅku-v-aar*
1pl	*tuuṅku-kiṟ-oom*	*tuuṅk-iṉ-oom*	*tuuṅku-v-oom*
2pl	*tuuṅku-kiṟ-iirkaḷ*	*tuuṅk-iṉ-iirkaḷ*	*tuuṅku-v-iirkaḷ*
3plmf	*tuuṅku-kiṟ-aarkaḷ*	*tuuṅk-iṉ-aarkaḷ*	*tuuṅku-v-aarkaḷ*
3pln	*tuuṅku-kiṉṟ-aṉ-a*	*tuuṅk-iṉ-a*	*tuuṅk-um*

Class IV: *pooṭu* 'put'

Person	Present	Past	Future
1s	*pooṭu-kiṟ-eeṉ*	*pooṭ·ṭ-eeṉ*	*pooṭu-v-eeṉ*
2s	*pooṭu-kiṟ-aay*	*pooṭ·ṭ-aay*	*pooṭu-v-aay*
3sm	*pooṭu-kiṟ-aaṉ*	*pooṭ·ṭ-aaṉ*	*pooṭu-v-aaṉ*
3sf	*pooṭu-kiṟ-aaḷ*	*pooṭ·ṭ-aaḷ*	*pooṭu-v-aaḷ*
3sn	*pooṭu-kiṟ-atu*	*pooṭ·ṭ-atu*	*pooṭ-um*
3smf	*pooṭu-kiṟ-aar*	*pooṭ·ṭ-aar*	*pooṭu-v-aar*
1pl	*pooṭu-kiṟ-oom*	*pooṭ·ṭ-oom*	*pooṭu-v-oom*
2pl	*pooṭu-kiṟ-iirkaḷ*	*pooṭ·ṭ-iirkaḷ*	*pooṭu-v-iirkaḷ*
3plmf	*pooṭu-kiṟ-aarkaḷ*	*pooṭ·ṭ-aarkaḷ*	*pooṭu-v-aarkaḷ*
3pln	*pooṭu-kiṉṟ-aṉ-a*	*pooṭ·ṭ-aṉ-a*	*pooṭ-um*

Class V: *keeḷ* 'ask'

Person	Present	Past	Future
1s	*keeṭ-kiṟ-eeṉ*	*keeṭ-ṭ-eeṉ*	*keeṭ-p-eeṉ*
2s	*keeṭ-kiṟ-aay*	*keeṭ-ṭ-aay*	*keeṭ-p-aay*
3sm	*keeṭ-kiṟ-aaṉ*	*keeṭ-ṭ-aaṉ*	*keeṭ-p-aaṉ*
3sf	*keeṭ-kiṟ-aaḷ*	*keeṭ-ṭ-aaḷ*	*keeṭ-p-aaḷ*
3sn	*keeṭ-kiṟ-atu*	*keeṭ-ṭ-atu*	*keeṭ·k-um*
3smf	*keeṭ-kiṟ-aar*	*keeṭ-ṭ-aar*	*keeṭ-p-aar*
1pl	*keeṭ-kiṟ-oom*	*keeṭ-ṭ-oom*	*keeṭ-p-oom*
2pl	*keeṭ-kiṟ-iirkaḷ*	*keeṭ-ṭ-iirkaḷ*	*keeṭ-p-iirkaḷ*
3plmf	*keeṭ-kiṟ-aarkaḷ*	*keeṭ-ṭ-aarkaḷ*	*keeṭ-p-aarkaḷ*
3pln	*keeṭ-kiṉṟ-aṉ-a*	*keeṭ-ṭ-aṉ-a*	*keeṭ·k-um*

Class VI: *paṭi* 'study'

Person	Present	Past	Future
1s	*paṭi-kkiṟ-eeṉ*	*paṭi-tt-eeṉ*	*paṭi-pp-eeṉ*
2s	*paṭi-kkiṟ-aay*	*paṭi-tt-aay*	*paṭi-pp-aay*
3sm	*paṭi-kkiṟ-aaṉ*	*paṭi-tt-aaṉ*	*paṭi-pp-aaṉ*
3sf	*paṭi-kkiṟ-aaḷ*	*paṭi-tt-aaḷ*	*paṭi-pp-aaḷ*
3sn	*paṭi-kkiṟ-atu*	*paṭi-tt-atu*	*paṭi·kk-um*
3smf	*paṭi-kkiṟ-aar*	*paṭi-tt-aar*	*paṭi-pp-aar*
1pl	*paṭi-kkiṟ-oom*	*paṭi-tt-oom*	*paṭi-pp-oom*
2pl	*paṭi-kkiṟ-iirkaḷ*	*paṭi-tt-iirkaḷ*	*paṭi-pp-iirkaḷ*
3plmf	*paṭi-kkiṟ-aarkaḷ*	*paṭi-tt-aarkaḷ*	*paṭi-pp-aarkaḷ*
3pln	*paṭi-kkiṉṟ-aṉ-a*	*paṭi-tt-aṉ-a*	*paṭi·kk-um*

Class VII: *naṭa* 'walk'

Person	Present	Past	Future
1s	*naṭa-kkiṟ-een̲*	*naṭa-nt-een̲*	*naṭa-pp-een̲*
2s	*naṭa-kkiṟ-aay*	*naṭa-nt-aay*	*naṭa-pp-aay*
3sm	*naṭa-kkiṟ-aan̲*	*naṭa-nt-aan̲*	*naṭa-pp-aan̲*
3sf	*naṭa-kkiṟ-aaḷ*	*naṭa-nt-aaḷ*	*naṭa-pp-aaḷ*
3sn	*naṭa-kkiṟ-atu*	*naṭa-nt-atu*	*naṭa·kk-um*
3smf	*naṭa-kkiṟ-aar*	*naṭa-nt-aar*	*naṭa-pp-aar*
1pl	*naṭa-kkiṟ-oom*	*naṭa-nt-oom*	*naṭa-pp-oom*
2pl	*naṭa-kkiṟ-iirkaḷ*	*naṭa-nt-iirkaḷ*	*naṭa-pp-iirkaḷ*
3plmf	*naṭa-kkiṟ-aarkaḷ*	*naṭa-nt-aarkaḷ*	*naṭa-pp-aarkaḷ*
3pln	*naṭa-kkin̲ṟ-an̲-a*	*naṭa-nt-an̲-a*	*naṭa·kk-um*

Notes:

i) as mentioned under 1.42 the two present tense allomorphs *-kiṟ*, which occurs with verbs of class I to V, and *-kkiṟ*, which occurs with verbs of class VI and VII, have stylistic variants of the form *-kin̲ṟ* and *-kkin̲ṟ*, respectively. As shown in the paradigms, these variant forms are, however, obligatory in the case of verb forms inflected for third person, plural number, and neuter gender.

ii) the verb forms inflected for third person, singular and plural number, and neuter gender are not regular in their formation. When inflected for future tense, the third person-singular-neuter suffix -*atu* and the third person-plural-neuter suffix *-a* are not affixed to the future tense suffix. Instead, the suffix *-um* is added to the verb stem. This suffix is a portmanteau morph, which realizes both the future tense morpheme and the morphemes of third person, singular and plural number, and neuter gender.

iii) a further irregularity is in the case of class III verbs when inflected for past tense. When the third person-singular-neuter suffix *-atu* is affixed to the past tense suffix, the latter occurs in its variant form *-i*, as in *vaaṅk-i·y-atu*. The past tense variant form *-in̲* occurs also with the third person-singular-neuter pronominal suffix. However, in this case, the latter occurs with its variant form *-tu*. When affixed, a morphophonemic rule changes both the final nasal of *-in̲* and the initial stop of *-tu* to *ṟ*, in each case. Example: *vaaṅk-iṟ-ṟu*.

iv) the verb forms inflected for third person, plural number, and neuter gender are particular in the following respect. When inflected for present and past tense, they have an inflectional increment of the form *-an̲* between the tense suffix and the person-number-gender suffix. Exception are verbs of class III.

1.45
Irregular verb forms

As mentioned earlier, Tamil has a small number of verbs which cannot be assigned to one of the seven classes. These verbs have irregular forms for one of the following reasons:

(i) they take an irregular tense marker, e.g. *collu* 'say' takes a past tense suffix of the form *-n*: *con̲-n̲-een̲* '(I) said'. (ii) they change the phonemic shape of the verb stem irregularly when inflectional suffixes are added, e.g. *caa* 'die' changes its verb stem to *ce* when inflected for past tense: *ce-tt-een̲* '(I) died'.

These forms are described, for example, in Arden (1942:144).

1.46
Interpretation of tense

The three tenses available in Modern Tamil—past, present, future—can be interpreted in various ways, that is have various time references, depending on the context. These will be discussed in the following.

i) past tense.

The past tense refers generally to the past time of an action, event, or state. It is the only tense which is marked for a definite time reference. Example:

(124) *poon̲a maatam naan̲ kumaar-ai·p paar-tt-een̲*
last month I Kumar-acc see-pst-1s
'Last month I saw Kumar.'

However, there are three cases where the past tense does not have a reference to past time. The first case involves the past tense form of the auxiliary verb *viṭu* (for which see 3.13), inflected for first person and singular number, and occurring after the verbal participle form of the main verb *vaa* 'come'. This form is idiomatically used as an answer by the speaker when he is called by someone and expresses immediate future. Example:

(125) a. *ṣaanti iṅkee vaa*
Shanti here come
'Shanti, come here.'

b *naan̲ va-ntu-viṭ·ṭ-een̲*
I come-vbp-leave-pst-1s
'I'm coming.'

The second case involves the situation of threatening and warning. By performing such a speech act, the speaker can use a conditional clause followed by a verb in past tense form, whereby the past tense refers, however, to future time. Examples:

(126) *nii uṇmai coṉ-ṉ·aal piẓai-tt-aay*
you truth say-cond live-pst-2s
'If you tell the truth, you will live (i.e. nothing will happen to you).'

(127) *nii it-ai·t toṭ·ṭ·aal ce-tt-aay*
you this-acc touch-cond die-pst-2s
'If you touch this, you will die.'

Steever (1983:93) explains such secondary usages of the past tense as a device to express the certainty of the immediate future by the certainty and finality implied by a past event. The third case involves the auxiliary verb *kiẓi* (see 3.36), expressing the speaker's disbelief and also challenge. Thus, in response to a statement with future time reference, the addressee may use a past tense form of *kiẓi*, which has, however, future reference. See the following example:

(128) a. *kumaar naaḷai-kku·p paṇam koṭu-pp-aaṉ*
Kumar tomorrow-dat money give-fu-3sm
'Tomorrow Kumar will give some money.'

b. *avaṉ kiẓi-tt-aaṉ*
he tear-pst-3sm
'He won't do it (I don't believe it).'

ii) present tense.
The present tense refers to (a) present state of affairs, (b) temporary present and (c) immediate future.

Corresponding to the simple present in English, the present tense in Tamil can refer to a present state of affairs without a specific reference to the moment of speaking. The present state of affairs may stretch indefinitely into past and future. Examples:

(129) *avaṉ oru aapis-il veelai cey-kiṟ-aaṉ*
he a office-loc work do-pres-3sm
'He works in an office.'

(130) *avaṉ-ukku muuṉṟu piḷḷai-kaḷ iru-kkiṟ-aarkaḷ*
he-dat three child-pl be-pres-3pl
'He has three children.'

The present tense occurs also in generic statements, e.g.

(131) *kurivi kuuṭu kaṭṭu-kiṟ-atu*
bird nest build-pres-3sn
'Birds build nests.'

Corresponding to the present progressive in English, the present tense can refer to the temporary present, that is to an action or event occurring at the moment of speaking. Examples:

(132) *kumaar ippootu tuuṅku-kiṟ-aaṉ*
Kumar now sleep-pres-3sm
'Kumar is sleeping now.'

(133) *naaṉ paṭi-kkiṟ-eeṉ, cummaa iru*
I study-pres-1s quite be
'I am studying now, be quite.'

Finally, the present tense can refer to the immediate future, e.g.

(134) *naaḷai-kku matraasu-kku·p poo-kiṟ-eeṉ*
tomorrow-dat Madras-dat go-pres-1s
'I am going to Madras tomorrow.'

(135) *avaṉ aṭutta vaaram varu-kiṟ-aaṉ*
he next week come-pres-3sm
'He is coming next week.'

iii) future tense.
The future tense expresses rather various modalities than referring definitely to future time. As such the future tense expresses (a) habituality, (b) conjecture, and (c) desiderative. When it refers to future time (usually distant future), the belief or assumption of the speaker that an action or event will occur is expressed. Example:

(136) *aintu varuṣa-tt-il kumaar veḷiṉaaṭ·ṭ-il-iruntu tirump-i varu-v-aaṉ*
five year-obl-loc Kumar foreign country-loc-abl return-vbp come-fu-3sm
'In five years Kumar will come back from abroad.'

The future tense is, especially, used to express habitual or repeated actions or events in the past or present. Examples:

(137) *ciṉṉa vayat-il naaṉ pamparam viḷaiyaaṭu-v-eeṉ*
small age-loc I top play-fu-1s
'In young age I used to play with tops.'

(138) *kumaar aṭikkaṭi ciṉimaa·v-ukku·p poo-v-aaṉ*
Kumar often cinema-dat go-fu-3sm
'Kumar goes often to movies.'

The future tense is also used in generic statements, e.g.

(139) *maaṭu pil tiṉṉ-um*
cow grass eat-fu+3sn
'Cows eat grass.'

Further, the future tense expresses also conjecture or assumption. Example:

(140) *naaḷai-kku mazai pey·y-um*
tomorrow-dat rain fall-fu+3sn
'Tomorrow it is likely to/may rain.'

Finally, the future tense can express desiderative modality in interrogative sentences, e.g.

(141) *naaṉ eṉṉa paṇṇu-v-eeṉ*
I what do-fu-1s
'What shall I do.'

1.47
Negative indicative verb forms

As mentioned above, there are no corresponding negative indicative verb forms to all the positive indicative verb forms. Negative indicative verb forms are not marked for the category of tense. The verb stem combines only with the negative morpheme and the three morphemes of person, number, and gender, as shown in the following representation:

(142) verb stem + negative + person + number + gender

In Old Tamil this combination of morphemes is phonologically realized in the following way: the negative morpheme is realized either by a zero morph or by the negative allomorph *-aa*, depending on the following person, number, gender morphemes. Only with the third person, singular and plural, neuter morphemes is the negative morpheme overtly expressed by the allomorph *-aa*. In the case of coocurrence with all other person, number, gender morphemes, the negative morpheme is not overtly expressed. Thus we get the following paradigm, for example, with the verb *viṭu* 'leave' (class IV):

(143)
1s *viṭ-eeṉ*
2s *viṭ-aay*
3sm *viṭ-aaṉ*
3sf *viṭ-aaḷ*
3sn *viṭ-aa-tu*
1pl *viṭ-oom*
2pl *viṭ-iir*
3plm/f *viṭ-aar*
3pln *viṭ-aa*

Note, when inflected for third person, plural, neuter, the respective person, number, gender morphemes are realized by a zero morph and only the negative allomorph *-aa* is added to the verb stem. These tenseless negative forms can be interpreted for past, present, and future time.

Turning now to Modern Tamil, we find that only one of these forms occurs still as a remnant: the form inflected for third person, singular number, and neuter gender, e.g. *viṭ-aa-tu*. This form is interpreted as referring to future time or expressing habituality. In addition, it is used both with singular and plural subjects. To compensate for the lack of the other forms of the paradigm and to express other tenses like past and present, Tamil uses two defective auxiliary verbs *maaṭṭu* 'will' and *il* 'be not', both of which follow a lexical main verb inflected for infinitive.

The auxiliary verb *maaṭṭu* is inflected for the negative according to the pattern of (143), except for the forms inflected for third person, singular and plural number, and neuter gender since these forms are realized by the simple form verb stem + *-aa* + *-tu*. This periphrastic construction complements the form verb stem + *-aa-tu* to express future negativity. Examples:

(144) a. *viṭ-a maaṭṭ-eeṉ*
leave-inf will-1s
'(I) won't leave'

b. *viṭ-a* *maaṭṭ-aay*
leave-inf leave-2s
'(you) won't leave'

See 3.46 for further discussion.
In order to express past and present negativity, the auxiliary verb *il* 'be not' is used. This defective verb occurs in a finite form unmarked for tense and marked with the person-number-gender suffix *-ai*. This suffix is a historical third person-plural-neuter suffix, which already in Old Tamil occurs with subject NPs of all person, number, gender features. Example:

(145) *naaṉ* / I / *nii* / you / *avaṉ* / he } *viṭ-a·v-ill-ai*
leave-inf-be not-3pln

'I did not, I do not / you did not, you do not / he did not, he does not } leave.'

1.48
Optative
The optative is formed by the addition of the optative suffix *-ka* (allomorph *-kka* in the case of verbs of class VI and VII) to the verb stem. Examples:

(146) a. *aracaṉ* *vaaẓ-ka*
king live-opt
'The king may live.'

b. *avaṉ-ukku* *peeṭi* *eṭu-kka*
he-dat cholera take-opt
'The cholera may take him.'

Non-finite verb forms
1.49
Tamil distinguishes between four types of non-finite verb forms:

- infinitive
- verbal participle
- conditional
- adjectival participle

All the non-finite verb forms, except the infinitive, have both positive and negative forms. Furthermore, only the adjectival participle distinguishes tense. All other non-finite verb forms are tenseless. Each of the non-finite verb forms is marked with a non-finite verb suffix, which is either added to the verb stem (when the form is tenseless), or to the tense suffix in the case of positive forms, or to a negative suffix in the case of negative forms.

1.50
Infinitive
The infinitive is formed by the affixation of the infinitive suffix *-a* to the verb stem. Note the distinction between weak, middle, and strong verb stems as well as the operation of morphophonemic rules, e.g. deletion of the stem final vowel *u*, when the infinitive suffix is added. Examples:

aẓu 'weep' (class I) : *aẓ-a*
uṭkaar 'sit' (class II) : *uṭkaar-a*
tuuṅku 'sleep' (class III) : *tuuṅk-a*
pooṭu 'put' (class IV) : *pooṭ-a*
keeḷ 'ask' (class V) : *keeṭ·k-a*
paṭi 'study' (class VI) : *paṭi·kk-a*
naṭa 'walk' (class VII) : *naṭa·kk-a*

The infinitive form occurs mainly in compound verb constructions, discussed under 3.8-44, and in complex sentence constructions, as discussed under 4.9-17. However, there are also a few cases where the predicate of a simple clause occurs in infinitive form. This will be illustrated in the following.
The infinitive form as predicate of a simple clause can express the optative mood, especially in the context of cursing:

(147) *uṉ* *talai·y-il* *iṭi* *viẓ-a*
you head-loc thunder fall-inf
'May thunder fall on your head.'

The infinitive form can also occur as predicate of a simple interrogative clause with a first person subject NP. In this case it expresses the

modality of desideration. See the following two examples with a yes-no question (148) and an interrogative word question (149) for illustration:

(148) *naan̲ naaḷai var-a·v-aa*
I tomorrow come-inf-Q
'Shall I come tomorrow.'

(149) *naan̲ ippootu en̲n̲a cey·y-a*
I now what do-inf
'What shall I do now.'

To conclude the discussion of the infinitive form, we have to mention that there is one more occurrence of an infinitive form as predicate of a simple clause. Paramasivam (1983:255) observes that one of the infinitive forms which occur in Old Tamil—the one formed with the allomorphs *-vaan̲*, *-paan̲*, *-ppaan̲*—does still have an occurrence in Modern Tamil in one construction. This is when it occurs as predicate of a simple clause and is followed by the cliticized *-een̲* 'why'. This will be illustrated by the following example:

(150) *nii tan̲i·y-aaka inta veelai·y-ai·c cey-vaan̲-een̲*
you aloneness-adv this work-acc do-inf-why
'Why did you do this work alone.'

1.51
Verbal participle

The verbal participle is the second tenseless non-finite verb form. It has both a positive and a negative form.

The positive verbal participle is formed by the affixation of the verbal participle suffix to the verb stem. The verbal participle suffix is homophonous with the various past tense allomorphs. The past tense allomorphs have been given above as *-t*, *-nt*, *-in̲*, *-i*, and *-tt*. When these phonemes or phoneme clusters occur as verbal participle allomorphs, they take the enunciative vowel *u* if they consist of a consonant or consonant cluster. This is because these consonants or consonant clusters occur word finally. Thus we get the following suffixes: *-tu*, *-ntu*, *-ttu*. With verbs of class III, the variant of the allomorph *-in̲*, that is *-i*, occurs exclusively. Remember that it is not uncommon that two different morphemes are realized by a homophonous morph, see for example, the homophonous morphs 'cut' in English, which realize various morphemes: lexical morpheme 'cut' + present tense morpheme, lexical morpheme 'cut' + past tense morpheme, and lexical morpheme 'cut' + past participle morpheme. Similarly, in Tamil the past tense morpheme and verbal participle morpheme are realized by homophonous allomorphs. Examples:

aẓu 'weep' (I) : *aẓu-tu*
uṭkaar 'sit' (II) : *uṭkaar-ntu*
tuuṅku 'sleep' (III) : *tuuṅk-i*
pooṭu 'put' (IV) : *pooṭ·ṭu*
keeḷ 'ask' (V) : *keeṭ-ṭu*
paṭi 'study' (VI) : *paṭi-ttu*
naṭa 'walk' (VII) : *naṭa-ntu*

Turning to the negative polarity, there are two forms of the negative verbal participle. One is formed by adding the negative allomorph *-aa* to the verb stem and then affixing the verbal participle suffix *-mal*, that is, the structure is verb stem + *-aa-mal*. The second form consists of the verb stem to which the negative allomorph *-aat* is added, followed by the enunciative vowel *u*. That is the structure is verb stem + *-aatu*. In this case the verbal participle morpheme is not overtly expressed by a suffix. Examples:

aẓu 'weep' (I) : *aẓ-aa-mal*, *aẓ-aatu*
uṭkaar 'sit' (II) : *uṭkaar-aa-mal*, *uṭkaar-aatu*
tuuṅku 'sleep' (III) : *tuuṅk-aa-mal*, *tuuṅk-aatu*
pooṭu 'put' (IV) : *pooṭ-aa-mal*, *pooṭ-aatu*
keeḷ 'ask' (V) : *keeṭ·k-aa-mal*, *keeṭ·k-aatu*
paṭi 'study' (VI) : *paṭi·kk-aa-mal*, *paṭi·kk-aatu*
naṭa 'walk' (VII) : *naṭa·kk-aa-mal*, *naṭa·kk-aatu*

The verbal participle forms occur in compound verb constructions, described under 3.8-44, and in complex sentence constructions, as discussed under 4.18-27.

1.52
Conditional

The third tenseless finite verb form is the conditional, which occurs both in a positive and negative form. The positive conditional of the verb is

formed by adding the phoneme cluster of the past tense allomorph to the verb stem and then affixing the suffix *-aal*. Hereby, the phoneme cluster of the past tense allomorph does not contrast with present or future tense allomorphs and does not have a semantic function, that is reference to past time. It serves only as a sort of phonological support for the suffix *-aal*. In the segmentation of verb forms we will give the phoneme cluster of the past tense allomorph and the suffix *-aal* as one unit connected through the symbol '·'. Examples:

aẓu 'weep' (I)	:	*aẓu-t·aal*
uṭkaar 'sit' (II)	:	*uṭkaar-nt·aal*
tuuṅku 'sleep' (III)	:	*tuuṅk-iṉ·aal*
pooṭu 'put' (IV)	:	*pooṭ-ṭ·aal*
keeḷ 'ask' (V)	:	*keeṭ-ṭ·aal*
paṭi 'study' (VI)	:	*paṭi-tt·aal*
naṭa 'walk' (VII)	:	*naṭa-nt·aal*

The negative of the conditional is formed by adding the negative morph *-aa* to the verb stem, followed by the conditional suffix *-viṭṭaal*. Examples:

aẓu 'weep' (I)	:	*aẓ-aa-viṭṭaal*
uṭkaar 'sit' (II)	:	*uṭkaar-aa-viṭṭaal*
tuuṅku 'sleep' (III)	:	*tuuṅk-aa-viṭṭaal*
pooṭu 'put' (IV)	:	*pooṭ-aa-viṭṭaal*
keeḷ 'ask' (V)	:	*keeṭ·k-aa-viṭṭaal*
paṭi 'study' (VI)	:	*paṭi·kk-aa-viṭṭaal*
naṭa 'walk' (VII)	:	*naṭa·kk-aa-viṭṭaal*

As noted by Steever (1983:106), the negative conditional is historically a periphrastic construction, consisting of a negative verbal participle formed by adding the suffix *-aa* to the verb stem, e.g. *aẓ-aa*, and the auxiliary verb *viṭu* with its conditional form *viṭ·ṭ·aal*, that is *aẓ-aa viṭ·ṭ·aal*. In Modern Tamil, however, the suffix *-aa* has ceased to function as a negative verbal participle suffix and occurs only as a negative suffix and the conditional form *viṭ·ṭ·aal* has acquired suffixal status. Thus, a construction like *aẓ-aa viṭ·ṭ·aal* is reanalyzed to *aẓ-aa-viṭṭaal*.

The conditional form occurs in the formation of complex sentences and is discussed under 4.28-38. There is, however, also one occurrence of the conditional form as predicate of a simple clause. Andronow (1969:192) observes that the conditional form + the emphatic clitics *taaṉ-ee* can occur as predicate of a simple clause expressing optative mood. Example:

(151) *kumaar neera-tt-ooṭu va-nt·aal taaṉ-ee*
Kumar time-obl-soc come-cond emph-emph
'If Kumar would only come in time.'

1.53
Adjectival participle

The adjectival participle is the only non-finite verb form which distinguishes tense. Tamil has then a past, present, and future adjectival participle. In addition there is a tenseless negative adjectival participle. The past and present adjectival participle is formed by adding the past or present tense allomorph to the verb stem and then adding the adjectival suffix *-a*. Examples:

		past	present
aẓu 'weep' (I)	:	*aẓu-t-a*	*aẓu-kiṟ-a*
uṭkaar 'sit' (II)	:	*uṭkaar-nt-a*	*uṭkaar-kiṟ-a*
tuuṅku 'sleep' (III)	:	*tuuṅk-i·y-a*	*tuuṅku-kiṟ-a*
pooṭu 'put' (IV)	:	*pooṭ·ṭ-a*	*pooṭu-kiṟ-a*
keeḷ 'ask' (V)	:	*keeṭ-ṭ-a*	*keeṭ-kiṟ-a*
paṭi 'study' (VI)	:	*paṭi-tt-a*	*paṭi-kkiṟ-a*
naṭa 'walk' (VII)	:	*naṭa-nt-a*	*naṭa-kkiṟ-a*

The future adjectival participle is formed by adding the suffix *-um* to the verb stem. The suffix *-um* is a portmanteau morph which realizes the future tense morpheme and the adjectival morpheme. Examples:

azu 'weep' (I)	:	*aẓ-um*
uṭkaar 'sit' (II)	:	*uṭkaar-um*
tuuṅku 'sleep' (III)	:	*tuuṅk-um*
pooṭu 'put' (IV)	:	*pooṭ-um*
keeḷ 'ask' (V)	:	*keeṭ·k-um*
paṭi 'study' (VI)	:	*paṭi·kk-um*
naṭa 'walk' (VII)	:	*naṭa·kk-um*

The suffix *-um* is another instance of homophony of morphs in Tamil. Note that Tamil distinguishes between two homophonous morphs of the shape *-um*: the future tense morpheme and the third person, singular number, and neuter gender morphemes are realized by the morph *-um*, see 1.44, and, as seen above, the future morpheme and adjectival morpheme are also realized by the morph *-um*.

The negative adjectival participle is formed by first adding the negative allomorph *-aat* to the verb stem, followed by the adjectival suffix *-a*. Examples:

azu 'weep' (I)	:	*az-aat-a*
uṭkaar 'sit' (II)	:	*uṭkaar-aat-a*
tuuṅku 'sleep' (III)	:	*tuuṅk-aat-a*
pooṭu 'put' (IV)	:	*pooṭ-aat-a*
keeḷ 'ask' (V)	:	*keeṭ·k-aat-a*
paṭi 'study' (VI)	:	*paṭi·kk-aat-a*
naṭa 'walk' (VII)	:	*naṭa·kk-aat-a*

1.54
Nominalized verb forms or verbal nouns

The grammatical literature distinguishes several types of nominalized verb forms or verbal nouns, see, for example, Arden (1942), Andronow (1969), and Paramasivam (1971). Verbal nouns can be distinguished into tensed and untensed verbal nouns. The latter consist of the verb stem and a nominalizing suffix. There are three different nominalizing suffixes occurring after the verb stem and thus three types of untensed verbal nouns:

i) verbal noun with *-al*.
The first type of untensed verbal noun consists of the verb stem and the nominalizing suffix *-al*. Examples:

cey 'do' (class I)	:	*cey·y-al*
paṭi 'study' (class VI)	:	*paṭi·kk-al*

ii) verbal noun with *-tal* (*-ttal*).
The second type of untensed verbal noun consists of the verb stem and the nominalizing suffix *-tal*, with allomorph *-ttal* in the case of strong verbs. Examples:

cey 'do' (class I)	:	*cey-tal*
paṭi 'study' (class VI)	:	*paṭi-ttal*

iii) verbal noun with *-kai* (*-kkai*).
The third type of untensed verbal noun consists of the verb stem and the nominalizing suffix *-kai*, with allomorph *-kkai* in the case of strong verbs, e.g.:

cey 'do' (class I)	:	*cey-kai*
paṭi 'study' (class VI)	:	*paṭi-kkai*

Turning now to the tensed verbal nouns, there are three forms of the tensed verbal noun marked for the three tenses, respectively. In addition, there is one negative form which is tenseless. These forms are formed by adding the tense or negative suffix to the verb stem and then affixing the nominalizing suffix *-atu*.

(152) verb stem + { past / present / future / negative } suffix + nominalizing suffix *-atu*

Examples:

cey 'do' (class I)	:	*cey-t-atu* do-pst-nom
		cey-kiṟ-atu do-pres-nom
		cey-v-atu do-fu-nom
		cey·y-aat-atu do-neg-nom
paṭi 'study' (class VI)	:	*paṭi-tt-atu* study-pst-nom
		paṭi-kkiṟ-atu study-pres-nom
		paṭi-pp-atu study-fu-nom
		paṭi·kk-aat-atu study-neg-nom

The verbal noun occurs in compound verb constructions discussed under 3.8-44 and in the formation of complex sentences—see 4.43-58. However, there is one occurrence where the predicate of a simple clause occurs in verbal noun form: the tensed verbal noun inflected for future tense. Hereby the verbal noun form expresses desiderative modality. Most frequently this verbal noun form occurs in interrogative sentences marked with the interrogative clitic *-aa* (153), an interrogative pro-form (154), or the tag *taaṉ-ee* (155):

(153) *inta veyil-il naaṉ kaṭai-kku·p poo-v-at-aa*
this heat-loc I shop-dat go-fu-nom-Q
'Shall I go shopping in this heat.'

(154) *kumaar eṉṉa cey-v-atu*
Kumar what do-fu-nom
'What shall Kumar do?'

(155) *kumaar col-v-atu taaṉ-ee*
Kumar say-fu-nom emph-emph
a. 'Kumar should tell it, shouldn't he.'
b. 'Kumar should have told it, shouldn't he.'

1.55
Participial nouns and adjectival nouns

The grammatical literature mentions two more nominalized—strictly speaking pronominalized—word forms in Tamil: participial nouns and adjectival nouns.

Participial nouns may be analyzed as consisting of the verb stem + tense suffix or negative suffix + a third person remote demonstrative pronoun as bound form. See the following examples with the verb *cey* 'do':

cey-t-avaṉ	'he who did'
cey-t-avaḷ	'she who did'
cey-t-atu	'that which did'
cey-t-avar	'he/she who did'
cey-t-avarkaḷ	'they who did'
cey-t-avai	'they which did'
cey-kiṟ-avaṉ	'he who does'
cey-kiṟ-avaḷ	'she who does'
cey-kiṟ-atu	'that which does'
cey-kiṟ-avar	'he/she who does'
cey-kiṟ-avarkaḷ	'they who do'
cey-kiṟ-avai	'they which do'
cey-p-avaṉ	'he who will do'
cey-p-avaḷ	'she who will do'
cey-v-atu	'that which will do'
cey-p-avar	'he/she who will do'
cey-p-avarkaḷ	'they who will do'
cey-p-avai	'they which will do'
cey·y-aat-avaṉ	'he who did/does/will not do'
cey·y-aat-avaḷ	'she who did/does/will not do'
cey·y-aat-atu	'that which did/does/will not do'
cey·y-aat-avar	'he/she who did/does/will not do'
cey·y-aat-avarkaḷ	'they who did/do/will not do'
cey·y-aat-avai	'they which did/do/will not do'

As shown above, the future forms are irregular insofar as verbs with a weak stem, e.g. *cey* 'do' (class II), do not take the future tense allomorph *-v-*, except with the neuter singular form, e.g. *cey-v-atu*, but the future tense allomorph *-p-*, which usually occurs with verbs of class V, that is verbs with a middle stem. Verbs with a middle and strong stem, that is verbs of class V to VII, take the regular future tense allomorph of their respective class, e.g. *keeṭ-p-avaṉ* 'he who asks', *paṭi-pp-avaṉ*, 'he who studies', *naṭa-pp-avaṉ* 'he who walks'. The just given segmentation entails that the word structure of the participial noun parallels the one of the verbal noun. What combines with the third person remote demonstrative pronoun—or the nominal suffix *-atu* in the case of the verbal noun—is a tensed verb. Since the pronominal head, e.g. *-avaṉ*, occurs as bound form, the preceding verb, which syntactically modifies the head, does not occur in adjectival participle form, but only in a tensed form.

Lindholm (1971) presents a different analysis. Accordingly, the adjectival participle form of the verb combines with the third person pronominal suffixes *-aṉ*, *-aḷ*, *-tu*, *-ar*, *-arkaḷ*, *-ai*, which otherwise occur with the demonstrative and interrogative stems *a-*, *i-* and *e-*, e.g. *a·v-aṉ* 'that he', *i·v-aṉ* 'this he', and *e·v-aṉ* 'which he', see (178). Thus a participial noun form like *ceytavaṉ* 'he who did' is segmentized into the adjectival participle *cey-t-a* + the pronominal suffix *-aṉ*: *cey-t-a·v-aṉ*. This analysis leads to problems in the case of the future participial noun forms since a form like *ceypavaṉ* 'he who will do' cannot be segmentized into a future adjectival participle form (which is *cey·y-um*) + pronominal suffix *-aṉ*. However, we saw that in Tamil verb forms inflected for future tense do always have to some extent a morphological irregularity so that this characteristic property could also be applied in the present case.

In our discussion we will, however, adopt the former analysis according to which the participial noun consists of the tensed verb stem, or verb stem + negative suffix, and a bound demonstrative pronominal form.

Adjectival nouns consist of an adjective + a third person pronominal suffix. Examples with the adjective *nalla* 'good':

nalla·v-aṉ	'a good male person'
nalla·v-aḷ	'a good female person'
nalla-tu	'a good thing'
nalla·v-ar	'a good person'
nalla·v-arkaḷ	'good persons'
nalla·v-ai	'good things'

It is, however, not clear whether the word forms of the participial noun and adjectival noun are part of inflectional morphology in Tamil, that is

whether the affixation of a bound pronominal and pronominal suffix reflects an inflectional category. To illustrate this, we will compare the participial noun and adjectival noun with the verbal noun.

The verbal noun can be analyzed as a verb form inflected for the relational category which indicates the nominal status of a verb. That is the nominalizing suffix marks the integration of a verb into a larger structure as nominal. In the case of the participial noun and adjectival noun, on the other hand, the bound pronominal and pronominal suffix has the function of a pronominal, that is of a syntactic element of the sentence, rather than being a reflection of an inflectional category. Participial nouns and and adjectival nouns are thus the combination of two syntactic elements: a verb + a pronominal and an adjective + a pronominal. This will be discussed in more detail under 4.42 with respect to the participial noun and under 3.29 with regard to the adjectival noun. For this reason, participial nouns and adjectival nouns can be analyzed as word forms which are the result of a phonological process that realizes two adjacent syntactic elements by one word form. We will, therefore, not assign the participial noun and adjectival noun to the domain of inflectional morphology, but to syntax, and deal with both forms under the sections mentioned above.

Defective verbs

1.56

As there are nouns which cannot occur with all case suffixes and which are, therefore, called defective nouns, there are a number of verbs which cannot occur with all tense, person-number-gender, and non-finite verbal suffixes. These verbs are likewise referred to as defective verbs. The following is a list of defective verbs in Modern Tamil:

kiṭai	'be not, exist not'
maaṭṭu	'will'
uḷ	'be, exist'
il	'be not, exist not'
al	'be not, exist not'
veeṇṭu	'want'
pootu	'be enough'
taku	'be fit, suitable'
muṭi	'be able, can'
teri	'know'
puri	'understand'
piṭi	'like'
kiṭai	'get'
vali	'hurt'
paci	'be hungry'
kuucu	'feel ticklish'
kaca	'feel sour'

Apart from the verb *maaṭṭu* 'will' and *uḷ* 'be, exist' (in one context), all defective verbs have the property that they cannot occur with person-number-gender suffixes, except the third person-singular (with some verbs third person-plural) -neuter suffixes. The result is that these verbs, when inflected, do not agree with the subject NP unless the latter is neuter. Defective verbs can be classified according to the number of inflectional suffixes they occur with and also according to their syntactic behavior. In the following, defective verbs are divided into six classes, which are presented in a sequence showing an increasing degree of occurrence with verbal suffixes.

1.57

Class 1: *kiṭai*

The weak verb *kiṭai* 'be, exist', which forms with the strong verb *kiṭai* 'get' a pair of verbs, occurs only in one finite form inflected for negative and third person, singular number and neuter gender, that is with the form *kiṭai·y-aa-tu*. As such it occurs with existential and locative function and is interpreted as expressing general non-existence. Examples:

(156) a. *peey kiṭai·y-aa-tu*
ghost be-neg-3sn
'There are no ghosts.'

b. *inta uur-il oru kooyil kiṭai·y-aa-tu*
this town-loc a temple be-neg-3sn
'In this town there is no temple.'

1.58

Class 2: *maaṭṭu*

This auxiliary verb introduced under 1.47 occurs only in a finite form with person-number-gender suffixes. Since the periphrastic construction it occurs with complements the negative verb form inflected for third person, singular number, and neuter gender, it occurs with all person-number-gender suffixes except the third person-singular and plural-neuter suffixes:

(157)

		maaṭṭ-een̲ '(I) will not come'
		will-1s
	var-a	*maaṭṭ-aay* '(you) will not come'
	come-inf	will-2s
		maaṭṭ-aan̲ '(he) will not come'
		will-3sm

However, as observed by Paramasivam (1983:235) the auxiliary *maaṭṭu* can be inflected for third person, singular and plural number, and neuter gender when occurring in a passive construction with the passive auxiliary verb *paṭu* 'experience'. Example:

(158)	*kuẓantai-kaḷ*	*uḷḷee*	*cell-a*	*an̲umati·kk-a·p-paṭ-a*	*maaṭṭ-aa-tu*
	child-pl	inside	go-inf	permit-inf-experience-inf	will-neg-3sn

'Children won't be permitted to go inside.'

1.59
Class 3: *uḷ*

The verb *uḷ* 'be, exist' occurs both as lexical and as auxiliary verb. As a lexical verb it occurs in one finite and one non-finite form with existential and locative function: (i) a finite form unmarked for tense and inflected for third person, singular number, and neuter gender, that is *uṇ-ṭu*, and a tenseless adjectival participle form, *uḷḷ-a*. With these two verb forms the lexical verb *uḷ* occurs with subject noun phrases of all persons and numbers and with time adverbials of all tenses. Examples:

(159)	*inta*	*viiṭ·ṭ-il*	*oru*	*veelaikkaaran̲/*	*oru*	*veelaikkaari/*
	this	house-loc	a	male servant	a	female servant
	oru	*naay*	*uṇ-ṭu*			
	a	dog	be-3sn			

'In this house there is a male servant/a female servant/a dog.'

(160)	*neer̲r̲u/*	*in̲r̲u/*	*naaḷai*	*kaṭai*	*uṇ-ṭu*
	yesterday	today	tomorrow	shop	be-3sn

'Yesterday/today/tomorrow the shops were/are/will be (open).'

The tenseless adjectival participle form *uḷḷ-a* is illustrated by the following example:

(161)	*viiṭ·ṭ-il*	*uḷḷ-a*	*naay*
	house-loc	be-adj	dog

'the dog which is in the house'

Note, however, when the verb *uḷ* occurs as auxiliary verb, in which case it expresses the aspect of perfectivity, otherwise expressed by *iru* 'be'—see 3.10, it occurs with all person-number-gender suffixes. Hereby the tenseless forms are interpreted for present tense. Examples:

(162)	*naan̲*	*van̲-tu*	*uḷḷ-een̲*	'I have come.'
	I	come-vbp	be-1s	
	nii	*va-ntu*	*uḷḷ-aay*	'you have come.'
	you	come-vbp	be-2s	
	avan̲	*va-ntu*	*uḷḷ-aan̲*	'he has come.'
	he	come-vbp	be-3sm	
	etc.			

1.60
Class 4: *il*, *al*

The two negative verbs *il* and *al* 'be not, exist not' occur (i) in a form unmarked for tense and inflected for third person, plural number, and neuter gender, that is *ill-ai* and *all-a*, respectively, and (ii) in the negative adjectival participle form, that is *ill-aat-a* and *all-aat-a*, respectively. In contrast to the verb *uḷ* 'be' of the previous class, they can also occur (iii) in the negative verbal participle form, that is *ill-aa-mal* and *all-aa-mal*. These two forms have the alternative forms *in̲-r̲i* and *an̲-r̲i*, which are remnants from Old Tamil.

The two finite forms *ill-ai* and *all-a* occur with subject noun phrases of all persons and numbers and with time adverbials of all tenses. Examples:

(163)	*naan̲*		
	I		
	nii	*maaṇavan̲*	*ill-ai/all-a*
	you	student	be not-3pln
	avan̲		
	he		

'I am/you are/he is not a student.'

(164)	*neer̲r̲u*			
	yesterday			
	in̲r̲u	*kumaar*	*viiṭ·ṭ-il*	*ill-ai*
	today	Kumar	house-loc	be not-3pln
	naaḷai			
	tomorrow			

'Yesterday/today/tomorrow Kumar was not/is not/will not be at home.'

Whereas *ill-ai* occurs both with copulative (163) and existential or locative function (164), *all-a* occurs only with copulative function (163). In addition *ill-ai* occurs also as auxiliary verb—see 3.30 and 3.48.

The negative adjectival participle forms are illustrated by the following examples:

(165) *paṇam ill-aat-a manitan̠*
money be not-neg-adj man
'a man who does not have money'

(166) *yaan̠ai all-aat-a mirukaṅ-kaḷ*
elephant be not-neg-adj animal-pl
'animals except elephants'

With their negative participle forms *ill-aa-mal* and *all-aa-mal*, *il* and *al* occur as postpositons translatable with 'without' and 'except', respectively. Examples:

(167) *kumaar paṇam ill-aa-mal va-nt-aan̠*
Kumar money be not-neg-vbp come-pst-3sm
'Kumar came without money.'

(168) *kumaar all-aa-mal elloorum va-nt-aarkaḷ*
Kumar be not-neg-vbp everyone come-pst-3pl
'Except Kumar everyone came.'

1.61
Class 5: *veeṇṭu, pootu, taku*
As the verbs of the previous class, these three verbs occur in one finite form inflected for future tense and neuter gender and two non-finite forms—adjectival participle and negative verbal participle form. In addition they also occur in the infinitive and negative forms.

The verb *veeṇṭu* 'request' occurs as a defective verb with lexical function 'want, need' and with auxiliary function expressing necessity 'must'—see 3.10. *pootu* and *taku* occur only as lexical verbs, meaning 'be enough, suffice' and 'fit, be suitable', respectively. These three verbs occur in a finite form inflected for future tense and third person, singular number, and neuter gender, that is with the forms *veeṇṭ-um*, *poot-um* and *tak-um*. They have corresponding negative forms which are *veeṇṭ-aam*, *poot-aa-tu* and *tak-aa-tu*. Hereby the morph *-aam* realizes

the negative, and third person, singular number, and neuter gender morphemes. These verbs occur in the dative case NP + nominative case NP + verb sentence pattern to be discussed in detail under 3.7. Examples:

(169) a. *kumaar-ukku·p paal veeṇṭ-um*
Kumar-dat milk want-fu+3sn
'Kumar wants milk.'

b. *kumaar-ukku·t taṇṇiir veeṇṭ-aam*
Kumar-dat water want-neg+3sn
'Kumar does not want water.'

(170) *kumaar-ukku·p paal poot-um*
Kumar-dat milk be enough-fu+3sn
'Milk is enough for Kumar.'

(171) *kumaar-ukku inta taṇṭan̠ai·ṭ tak-um*
Kumar-dat this punishment deserve-fu+3sn
'Kumar deserves this punishment.'

All three verbs occur also in the past and negative adjectival participle form, that is *veeṇṭ-i·y-a* and *veeṇṭ-aat-a*, *poot-i·y-a* and *poot-aat-a*, and *taku-nt-a* and *tak-aat-a*, respectively. Note that the past tense is always interpreted for present time. Examples:

(172) a. *kumaar-ukku veeṇṭ-i·y-a pustakam*
Kumar-dat want-pst-adj book
'the money which Kumar wants'

b. *kumaar-ukku·p poot-aat-a paṇam*
Kumar-dat be enough-neg-adj money
'the money which is not enough for Kumar'

c. *kumaar-ukku·t taku-nt-a peṇ*
Kumar-dat fit-pst-adj girl
'the girl which is suitable for Kumar'

The three verbs occur also with the infinitive form: *veeṇṭ-a*, *poot-a*, and *tak-a*. This is restricted, however, to the cooccurrence with the emphatic clitic *-ee* in a reduplicated construction with the negative finite form of the respective verb. Example:

(173) *kumaar-ukku* *inta·t* *tuṇi* *veeṇṭ-a·v-ee* *veeṇṭ-aam*
Kumar-dat this clothes want-inf-emph want-neg+3sn
'Kumar does not want at all these clothes.'

Finally, the verbs under discussion, except *veeṇṭu*, can also occur in the negative verbal participle form. Example:

(174) *kumaar-ukku·c* *campaḷam* *poot-aa-mal*
Kumar-dat salary be enough-neg-vbp
kaṣṭappaṭu-kiṟ-aan̲
suffer-pres-3sm
'The salary is not enough for Kumar and (he) suffers.

1.62
Class 6: *muṭi, teri, puri, piṭi, vali, paci, kuucu, kaca*
Verbs of this class occur with all non-finite forms and the finite forms inflected for the three tenses and third person, singular and plural number, and neuter gender.

Regarding their distribution a distinction has to be made. The verb *muṭi* 'be finished, be accomplished' is grammaticalized to an auxiliary verb, expressing ability 'can, be able'—see 3.20. In this case it occurs as defective verb. The other verbs occur as lexical verbs. They have the characteristic to occur in the sentence pattern dative case NP + accusative case NP + verb, to be discussed in detail under 3.6.

We will only illustrate the finite forms of these verbs since there an interesting observation regarding tense is to be made. Shanmugam Pillai (1971:144) notes that when these verbs occur with future tense, habituality or generality is always expressed. Examples:

(175) a. *kumaar-ukku·c* *cin̲imaa* *piṭi·kk-um*
Kumar-dat cinema like-fu+3sn
'Kumar likes movies.'

b. *kumaar-ukku* *ṭii* *piṭi·kk-aa-tu*
Kumar-dat tea like-neg-3sn
'Kumar does not like tea.'

When inflected for past or present tense, a particular moment in the past or present time is expressed. Examples:

(176) a. *kumaar-ukku* *anta·p* *paṭa-tt-ai·p* *piṭi-tt-atu*
Kumar-dat that movie-obl-acc like-pst-3sn
'Kumar liked that movie.'

b. *en̲a-kku* *inta·p* *paṭa-tt-ai·p* *piṭi-kkiṟ-atu*
I-dat this movie-obl-acc like-pres-3sn
'I like this movie (e.g. while saying during the intermission of a movie show).'

Chapter 2

Syntactic categories

2.0
Introduction

In our discussion of syntactic categories in Tamil we will distinguish the following three types of syntactic categories:

- lexical categories
- grammatical categories
- phrasal categories

Lexical categories correspond to what is otherwise called parts of speech. In the previous chapter we mentioned under 1.2 that there is no agreement among Tamil grammarians as to how many parts of speech should be distinguished in Modern Literary Tamil and that the distinction of the following eight parts of speech or lexical categories is proposed here:

- nouns
- verbs
- postpositions
- adjectives
- adverbs
- quantifiers
- determiners
- conjunctions

We mentioned also that from a strictly formal point of view, the members of most lexical categories in Modern Tamil can be identified as an inflected or uninflected noun or verb form. We gave the example of the postposition *poola* 'like', which can be identified as the infinitive form of the verb *pool* 'be similar, seem'. Nevertheless, the postposition *poola* cannot be analyzed grammatically into two units, a verb stem and the infinitive suffix *-a*, and does not function as a non-finite verbal predicate. Syntactically, it behaves different from verbs and functions as a postposition. Similarly, quite a number of noun and verb forms—some of which are morphologically frozen to one particular form and also syntactically petrified to a certain syntactic position and function—do not display the syntactic properties of nouns and verbs in Modern Tamil. They are, therefore, entitled to be reanalyzed categorically to closed classes of postpositions, adverbs, etc. The reason for this is that Old Tamil has only four parts of speech: two major word classes of nouns and verbs and two minor word classes of adjectival roots and quantifier

roots with adverbial function. Due to this historical scarcity of parts of speech, Modern Tamil uses the device of syntactic reanalysis to enlarge its parts of speech. Thus the above given eight parts of speech or lexical categories can be distinguished in Modern Tamil.

Apart from lexical categories Tamil has one type of grammatical category: clitics. A number of grammatical elements, for example, the interrogative element, are realized in Tamil in the form of bound forms or clitics.

Finally, in Modern Tamil lexical categories, except verbs, determiners, and conjunctions, combine with other syntactic categories to form larger syntactic constituents, that is phrasal constituents. Thus, Modern Tamil distinguishes the following phrasal categories:

- noun phrases
- postpositional phrases
- adjective phrases
- adverb phrases
- quantifier phrases

In the following the various types of lexical, grammatical, and phrasal categories will be discussed in detail.

Nouns
2.1
The lexical category of nouns (N) exhibits several distributional properties. For example, nouns in Tamil can be modified by a number of prenominal modifiers, e.g. the demonstrative determiners *inta* 'this' and *anta* 'that', as in *inta·p paiyaṉ* 'this boy', or the adjectival participle, as in *va-nt-a paiyaṉ* 'the boy who came'. With these modifiers nouns form a phrasal category—the noun phrase (NP) to be discussed under 3.82. There are, however, three subgroups of nouns which do not combine with noun modifiers to form a noun phrase. Instead these nouns alone occur as a noun phrase:

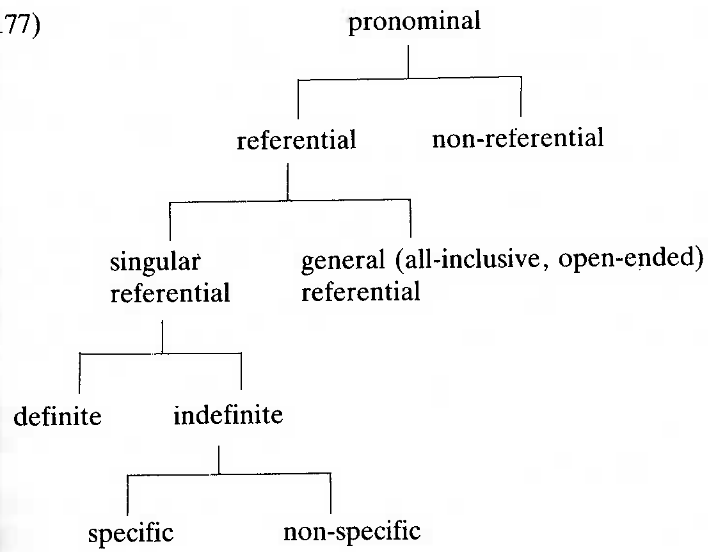
- pronouns
- quantity nouns
- numeric nouns (numerals)

They will be discussed in the following.

Pronouns
2.2
Since we have not dealt with pronouns under morphology, we have first to mention that pronouns in Tamil can be divided into simple and derived pronouns. By means of affixation of a closed set of clitics given below, derived pronouns are formed from one type of the simple pronouns.

In order to classify the various types of pronouns in Tamil, we will, however, use semantic concepts such as referentiality, definiteness and specificity. For a definition and illustration of these concepts see Lyons (1977). According to these semantic concepts, pronouns (pronominals) are classified as follows:

(177)



Explanation of terms and examples will be given in the course of the discussion. Applying these semantic concepts to pronouns in Tamil, we can first distinguish the simple pronouns into two types:

- singular referential definite (personal) pronouns,
  e.g. *naaṉ* 'I',
- non referential (interrogative) pronouns,
  e.g. *yaar* 'who'.

By means of affixation of the clitics *-um*, *-oo*, *-aavatu* to the non

referential or interrogative pronouns, the following three types of derived pronouns are formed:

- general referential pronouns, e.g. *yaar-um* 'anyone',
- specific indefinite referential pronouns, e.g. *yaar-oo* 'someone',
- non-specific indefinite referential pronouns, e.g. *yaar-aavatu* 'someone or other'.

Singular referential definite or personal pronouns
2.3

Personal pronouns have a fixed reference to one or a group of particular entities. Moreover, the identity of the referent is identifyable by the hearer. It is established by the deictic or anaphoric usage of the personal pronouns. Among the personal pronouns in Modern Tamil the following three peculiarities are to be found:

- in addition to the three categories of first, second, and third person, a category of 'fourth person' can also be distinguished. The referent of a 'fourth person' pronoun is a third person participant 'he, she, it, they', as in the case of the third person category, but the third person participant is always coreferential with the subject of the same or higher clause.
- the third person pronouns are marked for the category of spatial deixis, that is they are demonstrative personal pronouns, e.g. 'this one, he' and 'that one, he'.
- whereas first, second, and third person personal pronouns can be used both deictically and anaphorically, fourth person pronouns are only used anaphorically.

Before we illustrate the just mentioned properties of personal pronouns, see table 15.

Note that the third person pronouns, which are demonstrative personal pronouns, are marked with the demonstrative vowel *a-* and *i-* respectively. The vowel *a-* expresses remoteness whereas the vowel *i-* expresses proximity. The demonstrative personal pronouns may then be analyzed into the demonstrative stems *a-* and *i-*, respectively, and a bound pronominal with the feature content [person, number, gender, status]. This gives the following segmentation:

TABLE 15. **Personal pronouns**

Person	Singular	Plural
1st	*naan̲* 'I'	*naaṅkaḷ* 'we (incl)' *naam* 'we (excl)'
2nd	*nii* 'you'	*niiṅkaḷ* 'you'
3rd	*avan̲* 'that one, he' *ivan̲* 'this one, he' *avaḷ* 'that one, she' *ivaḷ* 'this one, she' *atu* 'that one, it' *itu* 'this one, it' *avar* 'that one, he, she (hon.)' *ivar* 'this one, he, she (hon.)'	 *avai(kaḷ)* 'those people, they' *ivai(kaḷ)* 'these people, they' *avarkaḷ* 'those ones, they' *ivarkaḷ* 'these people, they'
4th	*taan̲* 'he, she, it'	*taaṅkaḷ* 'they'

(178) *a·v-an̲* *i·v-an̲*
a·v-aḷ *i·v-aḷ*
a-tu *i-tu*
a·v-ar *i·v-ar*
a·v-arkaḷ *i·v-arkaḷ*
a·v-ai(kaḷ) *i·v-ai(kaḷ)*

where *v* is a glide inserted between vowels. In the following we will illustrate the deictic and anaphoric usage of these pronouns. First and second person pronouns do not only occur as deictic pronouns as in the following example:

(179) *naan̲ kumaar*
I Kumar
'I am Kumar.'

they occur also as anaphoric pronouns in a reflexive construction. Note that Tamil does not have a morphological reflexive pronoun. In a reflexive construction in which the two coreferential noun phrases involved are first or second person nominals, Tamil uses the first and second person personal pronouns for both coreferential noun phrases. Example:

(180) *naaṉ enṉ-ai veṟu-kkiṟ-eeṉ*
I I-acc hate-pres-1s
'I hate myself.'

Third person pronouns occur also in both deictic and anaphoric usage. Since third person pronouns are demonstrative personal pronouns, it follows that their demonstrative function occurs only in one type of their usage: deictic. The demonstrative function does not occur in the usage of anaphora, where no deictic function is required. Moreover, in the case of anaphora, only the remote demonstrative pronouns, e.g. *avaṉ* 'that one, he', occur. Thus, in the following example of a deictic usage of third person pronouns, both demonstrative personal pronouns occur, depending on the proximity or remoteness of the referent, e.g.

(181) *ivaṉ* / (this-)he
avaṉ / (that-)he
} *en tampi*
I(obl) brother
'(This-)he/(that-)he is my brother.'

One the other hand, in the anaphoric usage of third person pronouns, Tamil uses only the remote demonstrative pronouns, which in this case do not have a deictic, that is remote demonstrative vs. proximate demonstrative, function. Example:

(182) *kumaar*$_i$ *va-nt·aal naaṉ*
Kumar come-cond I
{ *avaṉ-iṭam*$_i$ / he-loc
* *ivaṉ-iṭam*$_i$ / he-loc } *collu-v-eeṉ*
say-fu-1s
'If Kumar$_i$ comes I will tell him$_i$.'

In anaphoric usage, the third person pronouns do, however, not occur in a reflexive construction as first and second person pronouns do:

(183) * *kumaar/ avaṉ*$_i$ *avaṉ-ai*$_i$ *veṟu-kkiṟ-aaṉ*
Kumar he he-acc hate-pres-3sm
'Kumar/he hates himself.'

Instead, the fourth person pronoun *taaṉ* is used. As mentioned above, the pronoun *taaṉ* (plural form *taaṅkaḷ*) has a third person referent 'he, she, it, they', which is always coreferential with the subject noun phrase of the same or higher clause. It occurs, therefore, also in a reflexive

construction when a noun phrase coreferential with the subject NP is third person:

(184) *avaṉ* / he
avaḷ / she
atu / it
} *taṉṉ-ai*
he/she/it
{ *veṟu-kkiṟ-aaṉ* / hate-pres-3sm
veṟu-kkiṟ-aaḷ / hate-pres-3sf
veṟu-kkiṟ-atu / hate-pres-3sn }
'He/she/it hates himself/herself/itself'

For this reason, the pronoun *taaṉ* has been referred to as reflexive pronoun in the grammatical literature. However, as we will show in a more detailed discussion of this pronoun under 5.4, the occurrence of *taaṉ* in a reflexive construction is only one of its occurrences and there is, therefore, no justification to call it a reflexive pronoun, in the same way as there is not one to call the first person pronoun *naaṉ* 'I' a reflexive pronoun, just because it can occur in a reflexive construction. More properly the pronoun *taaṉ* has been referred to as 'special anaphoric pronoun' by Bhat (1978). Since, however, the category of 'fourth person' is available in the theory of grammar—see, for example, Anderson and Keenan (1985:262)—we will use this category for the pronoun *taaṉ*. This has the benefit that it groups this pronoun under the rest of personal pronouns with which it behaves morphologically identically, for example, with regard to the oblique stem, see 1.10.

We will now turn to the categories for which personal pronouns in Tamil are specified. Hereby we will distinguish the following categories and features:

- person : [± speaker], [± addressee], [± third person]
- number : [± plural]
- gender : [± masculine], [± feminine]
- deixis : [± proximity]
- status : [± honorific]

Table 16 shows the pronouns with their specifications for the above features. Each category and features will be discussed in the following sections.

2.4
Person distinction

The deictic category of person is defined with reference to the notion of

TABLE 16. **Feature specification of personal pronouns**

1s	*naan̲*	'I'	[+ speaker, − addressee, − 3rd person, − plural]
2s	*nii*	'you'	[− speaker, + addressee, − 3rd person, − plural, − honorific]
3sm	*avan̲*	'he'	[− speaker, − addressee, + 3rd person, − plural, + masc., + prox., − honorific]
	ivan̲	'he'	[− speaker, − addressee, + 3rd person, − plural, + masc., − prox., − honorific]
3sf	*avaḷ*	'she'	[− speaker, − addressee, + 3rd person, − plural, + fem., + prox., − honorific]
	ivaḷ	'she'	[− speaker, − addressee, + 3rd person, − plural, + fem., − prox., − honorific]
3sn	*atu*	'it'	[− speaker, − addressee, + 3rd person, − plural, − masc., − fem., + prox., − honorific]
	itu	'it'	[− speaker, − addressee, + 3rd person, − plural, − masc., − fem., − prox., − honorific]
3sm/f	*avar*	'he/she'	[− speaker, − addressee, + 3rd person, − plural, ± masc., ± fem., + prox., + honorific]
	ivar	'he/she'	[− speaker, − addressee, + 3rd person, − plural, ± masc., ± fem., − prox., + honorific]
4s	*taan̲*	'he/she/it'	[− speaker, − addressee, + 3rd person, − plural, ± masc., ± fem.]
1pl	*naaṅkaḷ*	'we'	[+ speaker, − addressee, ± 3rd person, ± plural]
	naam	'we'	[+ speaker, − addressee, ± 3rd person, ± plural]
2pl	*niiṅkaḷ*	'you'	[− speaker, + addressee, ± 3rd person, ± plural, ± honorific]
3plm/f	*avarkaḷ*	'they'	[− speaker, − addressee, + 3rd person, ± plural, ± masc., ± fem., + prox., ± honorific]
	ivarkaḷ	'they'	[− speaker, − addressee, + 3rd person, ± plural, ± masc., ± fem., − prox., ± honorific]
3pln	*avai(−kaḷ)*	'they'	[− speaker, − addressee, + 3rd person, + plural, − masc., − fem., + prox., − honorific]
	ivai(−kaḷ)	'they'	[− speaker, − addressee, + 3rd person, + plural, − masc., − fem., − prox., − honorific]
4pl	*taaṅkaḷ*	'they'	[− speaker, − addressee, + 3rd person, + plural, ± masc., ± fem.]

participant roles in the situation of utterance. In traditional grammar the first person refers to the speaker or speakers, the second person to the addressee or addressees, and the third person to persons or things which are different from speaker and hearer. The traditional one-to-one correspondence between a number of person and a participant role is, however, superficial. With regard to the participant role, there are three person features [± speaker, ± addressee, ± 3rd person]. A given pronoun can be specified not only with one feature, e.g. [+ speaker], but with more than one. For this reason, the third feature [± 3rd person] is not redundant, that is cannot be expressed by the first two features as [- speaker, - addressee]. As shown below, Tamil makes a distinction between the inclusive or exclusive use of the first person plural pronoun with regard to the addressee. Thus the first person plural pronoun *naaṅkaḷ* 'we' refers to one or more speakers and optionally also to one or more third person referents. For example, if a husband in accompaniment of his wife says

(185) *naaṅkaḷ naaḷai-kku·k koovil-ukku·p poo-kir̲-oom*
we tomorrow-dat temple-dat go-pres-1pl
'Tomorrow we are going to the temple.'

the pronoun *naaṅkaḷ* refers to the husband and his wife, the direct and indirect participants in the speech situation, and can also refer to persons not present in the speech situation, e.g., their children at home. However, the addressee is not among the referents. Thus the pronoun *naaṅkaḷ* could be specified with the features [+ speaker, - addressee, + 3rd person referent]. On the other hand, if the speaker of (185) says instead

(186) *naam naaḷai-kku eppootu koovil-ukku·p poo-v-oom*
we tomorrow-dat when temple-dat go-fu-1pl
'When will we go to the temple tomorrow?'

the referents of the pronoun *naam* are not only the speaker and his wife and optionally some other third person referents, like his children at home, but also the addressee(s). The pronoun *naam* could therefore be specified with the following features [+ speaker, + addressee, + 3rd person].

The category of fourth person stands apart from the three person categories insofar as it has nothing to do with the system of person deixis, that is, does not have a reference to the notion of participant roles in a speech situation. As mentioned above, in Tamil the category

of fourth person is used to indicate a third person referent coreferential with the subject of the same or higher clause. See the table for the feature specification of pronouns regarding the category of person.

2.5.
Number distinction

Personal pronouns distinguish formally singular and plural number. The plural form of a pronoun does, however, not always have multiple referents. In the case of the second person plural pronoun *niiṅkaḷ* and the third person plural pronoun *avarkaḷ*, the pronoun may refer to a single person. Hereby the referent of the respective pronoun has, however, a honorific status, that is, the features [+ honorific] and [- plural] cooccur with these pronouns. Example:

(187) *niiṅkaḷ eppootu va-nt-iirkaḷ*
you(pl) when come-pst-2pl
a. 'When did you (single person) come?'
b. 'When did you (people) come?'

Finally note that multiplicity of referents of a plural pronoun does not always need the feature [+ plural]. For example, the pronoun *naaṅkaḷ* 'we' when referring to one speaker and a third person referent, e.g. husband (speaker) and wife (third person referent), will be specified by the features [+ speaker, + 3rd person] which alone express multiplicity of referents, that is at least two referents. The feature [+ plural] is used to express multiple referents of the person category, e.g. more than one speaker, addressee or third person referent. See the table of pronouns and their feature specification regarding the category of number.

2.6
Gender distinction

Modern Tamil distinguishes between three genders: masculine, feminine, and neuter. The neuter gender can be expressed by the feature [- masculine, - feminine]. The full distinction into these three genders is only realized with third person singular pronouns. With regard to third person plural pronouns, there is only one pair of epicene pronouns *avarkaḷ/ivarkaḷ* 'they', which can be specified for only [+ masculine] or only [+ feminine] or for both, and one pair of neuter pronouns *avai(kaḷ)/ivai(kaḷ)*. Moreover, in addition to the three gender marked third person singular pronouns, there is also one pair of third person singular epicene

pronouns *avar/ivar* 'he, she' which are always specified with the feature [+ honorific]. See the table of pronouns and their feature specification regarding the category of gender.

2.7
Spatial deixis distinction

Modern Tamil distinguishes between two types of spatial deixis: proximate and remote [± proximate]. Only the third person pronouns are specified with this deictic feature. Morphophonemically the marker for remoteness to the speaker is the word initial vowel *a-* and the marker for proximateness to the speaker is the word initial vowel *i-*. See the table of pronouns.

2.8
Status distinction

Tamil distinguishes between a honorific and non-honorific status of the referent(s): [± honorific]. Only the second and third person pronouns are specified with status features. The honorific forms are used when the social or family status of the addressee or person referred to is higher than the one of the speaker. Thus the non-honorific form *nii* 'you' is used to address a child, a person of lower social status, and one's own wife. Consequently, when the speaker refers to these persons, he uses the non-honorific third person pronouns *avaṉ*, *avaḷ*, or *atu*. The honorific form *niiṅkaḷ* is used when a speaker addresses a person of equal or higher social status and sometimes also elder persons of lower social status. It is also used when children address their parents or a wife her husband. In the case of equal social status, familiarity, and intimacy allow the use of the non-honorific pronoun *nii*. It follows whenever a speaker addresses a person with *niiṅkaḷ*, he refers to him/her with the honorifically marked third person pronouns *avar* or *avarkaḷ*.

2.9
Reduplication of third person pronouns

When the third person remote personal pronouns, e.g. *avaṉ* 'he', are reduplicated, they form distributive pronouns. In contrast to another type of distributive pronouns—the reduplicated forms of the various nominal forms of the cardinal number *oṉṟu* 'one', which are *ovvoṉṟu* 'each thing', *ovvoruvaṉ* 'each male person', *ovvorutti* 'each female person', and *ovvoruvar* 'each person (hon)', see 2.20—the reduplicated

third person pronouns do not only refer to each entity of a class, set, or group, but express also that each entity is in a way different from the other entities:

avan̲avan̲ 'each different male person'
avaḷavaḷ 'each different female person'
atatu 'each different thing'
avaravar 'each different person (hon.)'

Examples:

(188) *avan̲avan̲ tan̲ veelai·y-ai·p paar·kk-a veeṇṭ-um*
he-he he(obl) work-acc see-inf want-fu+3sn
'Each one should mind his own business.'

(189) *avaravar peeccu ocati·y-aaka·t teri-kir̲-atu·*
he/she-he/she speech worth-adv appear-pres-3sn
'Each one's speech appears the best (to them).'

2.10
Non-referential or interrogative pronouns
Interrogative pronouns do not have a fixed reference. Since they occur in questions, in which they ask for information, they presuppose that the reference has not been established. Tamil distinguishes between two types of interrogative pronouns: specified and non-specified interrogative pronouns. Note that specified interrogative pronoun does not imply that the pronoun is referential, it only means that the interrogative pronoun is specified for a subset of entities, e.g. male persons vs. female persons, among whom its reference is not fixed.

Non-specified interrogative pronouns are marked in their phonemic shape for the human and non-human distinction, that is there are two pronoun forms:

(190) *yaar* 'who'
en̲n̲a 'what'

Specified interrogative pronouns are marked in their phonemic form for third person, number, and gender. Formally, they can be segmentized into the interrogative stem *e-* and a pronominal suffix, paralleling thus the remote and proximate demonstrative personal pronouns given under (178):

(191) *e·v-an̲* 'which male person'
e·v-aḷ 'which female person'
e-tu 'which thing'
e·v-ar 'which male/female person'
e·v-arkaḷ 'which persons'
e·v-ai(kaḷ) 'which things'

Specified interrogative pronouns are used, in contrast to non-specified interrogative pronouns, when the speaker has a (limited) subset of objects or persons in mind. Take the following example. If the speaker has a group of human beings in mind, of whom he knows sex and status, e.g. a group of boys, he may specify his question with (192):

(192) *evan̲ con̲-n̲-aan̲*
which male say-pst-3sm
'Which (male) one said (it).'

If the speaker, however, does not have a subset of persons in mind, whose gender, status, and number he knows, he may use the unspecified interrogative pronoun:

(193) *yaar con̲-n̲-aarkaḷ*
who say-pst-3pl
'Who said (it).'

We will illustrate the contrast between specified and non-specified interrogative pronouns with one more example. Suppose the speaker has a specific set of entities, e.g. books, in mind, from which an object should be selected by the addressee, then he will specify his question with *etu* 'which', as in (194):

(194) *uṅkaḷ-ukku etu veeṇṭ-um*
you(pl)-dat which want-fu+3sn
'Which one do you want.'

If the speaker does not ask for a specific set of entities, but asks in general what the addressee wants, he will use *en̲n̲a* 'what':

(195) *uṅkaḷ-ukku en̲n̲a veeṇṭ-um*
you(pl)-dat what want-fu+3sn
'What do you want.'

2.11
Digression: demonstrative and interrogative words

After the discussion of personal and interrogative pronouns, a short digression is in order before the other types of pronouns will be discussed. While dealing with personal and interrogative pronouns, we noticed that Tamil has a trinary set of demonstrative and interrogative morphs *a-*, *i-*, and *e-*, where *a-* represents remoteness, *i-* proximity, and *e-* interrogative (corresponding to 'wh' in English). These morphs occur either as stems, or bound determiners, or word initial vowels. Thus they do not only occur with pronouns, but also with members of various other lexical categories, and the respective members form then a trinary set of demonstrative and interrogative words. As shown under (178) and (191), the morphs *a-*, *i-*, and *e-* occur as demonstrative and interrogative stems with third person personal pronouns and interrogative pronouns, e.g.

a·v-an̲ 'that one, he'
i·v-an̲ 'this one, he'
e·v-an̲ 'which male person'

The same morphs occur as demonstrative and interrogative bound determiners before nouns. Some of these nouns occur mainly with adverbial or quantifying function. Note in the following examples that the noun initial consonant is doubled and, in the case of vowel initial nouns, the inserted glide is doubled when the bound determiner is prefixed.

a-k·kaṭitam 'that letter'
i-k·kaṭitam 'this letter'
e-k·kaṭitam 'which letter'

a-p·pootu 'that time',
i-p·pootu 'this time'
e-p·pootu 'which time'

a-v·v·aḷavu 'that extent',
i-v·v·aḷavu 'this extent'
e-v·v·aḷavu 'which extent'

Finally, these morphs occur as word initial vowels with determiners and locative nouns. Examples:

anta 'that'
inta 'this'
enta 'which'

aṅku 'that place, there'
iṅku 'this place, here'
eṅku 'which place, where'

2.12
General referential pronouns

The inclusive clitic *-um*, see 2.55, can be suffixed to all interrogative pronouns—except *en̲n̲a*—with the result that the non-referentiality of the interrogative pronoun is annulled and the pronoun has the semantic property of a pronoun with general reference like 'anybody' or 'anything' in English. The reference of this pronoun is then not fixed to a particular entity, but to any or all members of a class of entities, that is, it has general or all-inclusive or even open-ended reference. Examples:

yaar 'who' + *-um* → *yaar-um* 'anyone'
etu 'which thing' + *-um* → *etu·v-um* 'anything'

When these pronouns take a case suffix, *-um* is added after the case suffix, e.g. *yaar-ukk-um* '(who-dat-incl) to anyone'.

Since the general referential pronoun does not have a reference to a particular entity or number of entities, it cannot occur in positive declarative sentences, that is in sentences with a verb marked for present or past tense, which presuppose that the reference of nominals is fixed to one or more entities—see Agesthialingom (1972). Example:

(196) * *neer̲r̲u* *yaar-um* *va-nt-aarkaḷ*
yesterday who-incl come-pst-3pl
* 'Yesterday anyone came.'

The general or all-inclusive referentiality of this pronoun requires the modality of possibility, probability, or negation with the verb. In the latter case universal negation is expressed. See the following examples:

(197) *yaar-um* *var-aḷ-aam*
who-incl come-vn-become+fu+3sn
'Anyone may come.'

(198) *evan̲-um* *varu-v-aan̲*
which male person-incl come-fu-3sm
'Anyone (male person) will come.'

(199) *avan̲ etu·v-um vaaṅk-a·v-ill-ai*
he which-incl buy-inf-be not-3pln
'He did not buy anything.'

As can be seen from the above examples, the general referential pronouns occur only in negative sentences and in sentences with a verb marked for future tense or the modal *-aam* 'may'.

Finally note that the suffixation of *-um* is not restricted to interrogative pronouns, but can occur with all interrogative words to form general referential or all-inclusive expressions, e.g.

eṅku	'where'	+ *-um*	→	*eṅk-um*	'any place, anywhere'
eppootu	'when'	+ *-um*	→	*eppoot-um*	'any time, always'

2.13
Specific indefinite referential pronouns

When the clitic *-oo*, see 2.61, is suffixed to interrogative pronouns—including *en̲n̲a* 'what'—the non-referentiality of the interrogative pronoun is cancelled and a reference to a particular entity is established. However, the pronoun does not specify the identity of the referent, that is, the referent is not identifyable by the hearer. Examples:

yaar	'who'	+ *-oo*	→	*yaar-oo*	'someone'
etu	'which thing'	+ *-oo*	→	*et-oo*	'something'
en̲n̲a	'what'	+ *-oo*	→	*en̲n̲a·m-oo/ en̲n̲a·v-oo*	'something'

The clitic *-oo* is also added after the case suffix if the pronoun is inflected for case, e.g. *yaar-ukk-oo* '(who-dat-ind) to someone'.

Since the reference of the indefinite pronoun is to a particular entity—even though the identity is not specified—this pronoun occurs in factual, positive declarative sentences, that is in sentences inflected for past or present tense. Examples:

(200) *yaar-oo va-nt-aarkaḷ*
who-ind come-pst-3pl
'Someone came.'

(201) *kumaar et-oo teeṭu-kir̲-aan̲*
Kumar which thing-ind search-pres-3sm
'Kumar searches for something.'

The indefinite pronoun does usually not occur in interrogative or negative sentences and in sentences with the modality of possibility, probability, that is with sentences inflected for future tense or containing a modal auxiliary like *-aam*. Similar to the clitic *-um*, the indefinite clitic *-oo* can be suffixed to all interrogative words to form indefinite expressions, e.g.

eṅku	'where'	+ *-oo*	→	*eṅk-oo*	'somewhere'
eppootu	'when'	+ *-oo*	→	*eppoot-oo*	'sometime'

2.14
Non-specific indefinite referential pronouns

The third clitic which can be suffixed to the interrogative pronouns—except *en̲n̲a* 'what'—is the clitic *-aavatu*, see 2.75. Its affixation cancells the non-referentiality of the interrogative pronoun and establishes a reference which is not fixed to a particular entity, but to more than one entity or several possible entities, whose identity is not specified. However, the reference is not fixed to all entities of a class. Examples:

yaar	'who'	+ *-aavatu*	→	*yaar-aavatu* 'someone or other'
etu	'which thing'	+ *-aavatu*	→	*et-aavatu* 'something or other'

When the pronoun is inflected for case, the suffix *-aavatu* occurs after the case suffix, e.g. *yaar-ukk-aavatu* '(who-dat-ind) to someone or other'.

The non-specific indefinite pronoun is used when the speaker refers to several possible entities of a class, whose identity is not specified. It follows that this pronoun does not occur in factual, declarative sentences—positive or negative—that is, in sentences inflected for past or present tense or negative polarity:

(202) * *yaar-aavatu va-nt-aarkaḷ*
who-ind come-pst-3pl
'Someone or other came.'

(203) * *yaar-aavatu var-a·v-ill-ai*
who-ind come-inf-be not-3pln
'Someone or other did not come.'

It occurs only in sentences with the modality of possibility and probability, that is with sentences inflected for future tense or sentences with a modal auxiliary verb like *-aam*, and in interrogative sentences. Examples:

(204) *yaar-aavatu iṅkee viiṭu kaṭṭu-v-aarkaḷ*
who-ind here house build-fu-3pl
'Someone or other will build a house here.'

(205) *kumaar et-aavatu keeṭ·k-al-aam*
Kumar which thing-ind ask-vn-become+fu+3sn
'Kumar may ask for something or other.'

(206) *evaṉ-aavatu iṅkee va-nt-aaṉ-aa*
which male person-ind here come-pst-3sm-Q
'Did someone or other (male person) come here?'

As in the case of the clitics *-um* and *-oo*, the indefinite clitic *-aavatu* can be suffixed to all interrogative words to form non-specific indefinite expressions, e.g.

eṅku 'where' + *-aavatu* → *eṅk-aavatu*
'somewhere or other'
eppootu 'when' + *-aavatu* → *eppoot-aavatu*
'sometime or other'

To conclude the discussion of pronouns in Tamil, compare now (i) the general referential or all-inclusive pronoun, (ii) the specific indefinite pronoun, and (iii) the non-specific indefinite pronoun.
The general referential pronoun does not refer to a particular entity, but is open in its reference to include all entities of a class, e.g.

(207) *yaar-um var-al-aam*
who-incl come-vn-become+fu+3sn
'Anyone may come.'

The specific indefinite referential pronoun refers to a particular entity whose identity is not specified, e.g.

(208) *yaar-oo va-nt-aarkaḷ*
who-ind come-pst-3pl
'Someone came.'

The non-specific indefinite pronoun does not refer to a partiular entity, nor to all the entities of a class, but it refers to more than one possible entities of a class, whose identity is not specified, e.g.

(209) *yaar-aavatu varu-v-aarkaḷ*
who-ind come-fu-3pl
'Someone or other will come.'

After the discussion of pronouns, we will deal with two other types of nouns—quantity nouns and numeric nouns or numerals—which, like pronouns, occur as nominals only.

2.15
Quantity nouns

There are four quantity noun forms which occur as nominals in Modern Tamil:

cila 'a few'
pala 'many'
ellaam 'all, everything'
elloor-um 'all, everyone'

Note that the noun *elloor* is obligatorily followed by the inclusive clitic *-um*—similarly, the noun *ellaam* when inflected for case. Hereby the clitic *-um* occurs after the case marker if the respective noun is inflected for case.
As nominals these quantity noun forms occur, for example, as subject argument, as in (210) to (212):

(210) *cila/ pala va-nt-aṉ-a*
a few many come-pst-euph-3pln
'A few/many came.'

(211) *ellaam va-nt-atu*
everything come-pst-3sn
'Everything came.'

(212) *elloor-um va-nt-aarkaḷ*
everyone come-pst-3pl
'Everyone came.'

or as an object argument, inflected for accusative case, as in example (213):

(213) *naaṉ cila·v-arṟ-ai·p paar-tt-eeṉ*
I a few-obl-acc see-pst-1s
'I saw a few.'

Since nominals can occur as noun modifiers, these quantity nominals occur, of course, also as noun modifiers. Hereby they display a number of interesting properties, which have to be discussed in detail.

As noun modifiers *cila*, *pala*, and *ellaam* can occur in the pre-nominal position. In this case they occur in the same position as quantifiers do, that is in the following slot: ___ Adj N. Note that hereby *ellaam* drops its final *m* and the inclusive clitic *-um* occurs obligatorily after the head noun. Examples:

(214) *cila/ pala ciṟiya kaṟ-kaḷ*
a few many small stone-pl
'a few/many small stones'

(215) *ellaa ciṟiya kaṟ-kaḷ-um*
all small stone-pl-incl
'all small stones'

The nominal *elloor-um*, however, cannot occur in pre-nominal position.

All four nominals, when functioning as noun modifiers, can also occur in post-nominal position, that is, like quantifiers, these quantity nominals can be postposed over the head noun to a post-nominal position—see 5.8. As mentioned above, the nominal *elloor-um* occurs only in post-nominal position. When quantity nominals are postposed, it is they which take the case marker and not the head noun. See the following examples:

(216) *pustakaṅ-kaḷ cila·v-arṟ-ai/ pala·v-arṟ-ai vaaṅk-iṉ-eeṉ*
book-pl a few-obl-acc many-obl-acc buy-pst-1s
'(I) bought a few/many books.'

(217) *paiyaṅ-kaḷ ellaam/ elloor-um va-nt-aarkaḷ*
boy-pl all all come-pst-3pl
'All the boys came.'

(218) *viiṭu-kaḷ ellaam naṉṟ-aaka iru-kkiṉṟ-aṉ-a*
house-pl all goodness-adv be-pres-euph-3pln
'All the houses are nice.'

Whereas *ellaam* can occur both with rational (217) and non-rational (218) nouns, *elloor-um* occurs only with rational nouns (217).

Numeric nouns
2.16
Numeric nouns are distinguished into cardinal and ordinal numeral nouns. Ordinal numeral nouns are derived from cardinal numeral nouns by the addition of a clitic.

Cardinal numerals
2.17
Cardinal numeral nouns occur as nominals. As such they occur, for example, as object NP inflected for accusative case (219), as nominal predicate (220), or as nominal argument of a postposition in a postpositional phrase (221). Examples:

(219) *avaṉ oṉṟ-ai mattum caappiṭ·ṭ-aaṉ*
he one-acc only eat-pst-3sm
'He ate only one.'

(220) *avaṉ vayatu muppatu*
he age thirty
'His age (is) thirty.'

(221) *kumaar nuuṟ·ṟ-ukku meelee eṇṇ-iṉ-aaṉ*
Kumar hundred-dat over count-pst-3sm
'Kumar counted over one hundred.'

As nominals, cardinal numerals occur also as noun modifiers. Hereby they occur in the same position as quantifiers do, that is in the following slot: ___ Adj N (222). Furthermore, they can also be transposed to the post-nominal position (223). Examples:

(222) *kumaar aintu nalla caṭṭai-kaḷ vaaṅk-in̲-aan̲*
Kumar five nice shirt-pl buy-pst-3sm
'Kumar bought five nice shirts.'

(223) *kumaar nalla caṭṭai-kaḷ aint-ai vaaṅk-in̲-aan̲*
Kumar nice shirt-pl five-acc buy-pst-3sm
'Kumar bought five nice shirts.'

For a list of cardinal numerals and discussion of the various allomorphs involved in their forms see Andronow (1969:91).

2.18
The numeral *on̲r̲u*

The numeral *on̲r̲u* 'one' has a special status among the cardinal numerals and has to be discussed separately. When *on̲r̲u* occurs as noun modifier in pre-nominal position, it has a special adjectival form: *oru*. Example:

(224) *kumaar oru iṭli mattum caappiṭ·ṭ-aan̲*
Kumar a Idli only eat-pst-3sm
'Kumar ate one Idli only.'

Other numerals do not have an adjectival form and occur in their nominal form as noun modifiers—see (222). However, when *on̲r̲u* occurs as transposed noun modifier in post-nominal position, it has its nominal form *on̲r̲u*. Example:

(225) *kumaar iṭli on̲r̲u maṭṭum caappiṭ·ṭ-aan̲*
Kumar Idli one only eat-pst-3sm
'Kumar ate one Idli only.'

The adjectival form *oru* of the numeral *on̲r̲u* is also used as an indefinite adjectival, corresponding to the indefinite article 'a, an' in English, for which Tamil has no separate category. Example:

(226) *oru nalla paṭam*
one/a good movie
'one/a good movie'

Moreover, *oru* can also modify a numeral noun. In this case it functions as an indefinite noun modifier, denoting 'about, some'. Example:

(227) *oru ampatu peer*
some fifty people
'some fifty people'

Further, *on̲r̲u* and *oru* combine with the roots *in̲i* 'more' and *veer̲u* 'difference' to the nominal *in̲n̲-on̲r̲u* and the adjectival *in̲n̲-oru*, meaning 'one more', and to the nominal *veer̲-on̲r̲u* and the adjectival *veer̲-oru*, meaning 'another (one)'. Examples:

(228) *kumaar in̲n̲-on̲r̲u/ veer̲-on̲r̲u keeṭ-ṭ-aan̲*
Kumar more-one difference-one ask-pst-3sm
'Kumar asked for one more/another one.'

(229) *kumaar in̲n̲-oru/ veer̲-oru ṭii keeṭ-ṭ-aan̲*
Kumar more-one difference-one tea ask-pst-3sm
'Kumar asked for one more/another tea.'

2.19
Pronominalized cardinal numerals

The numeral *on̲r̲u* has, apart from its adjectival form *oru*, three pronominalized forms of the adjectival form *oru*. They are marked for masculine and feminine gender and epicene gender + honorific status:

oru·v-an̲ 'one male person'
oru-tti 'one female person'
oru·v-ar 'one person (honorific)'

Other numerals have only one pronominalized form marked for epicene gender und plural number. It is formed by adding the third person-singular-epicene suffix *-ar* to that allomorph of the numeral which occurs in composite word forms, e.g. *iru-* in the case of *iraṇṭu* 'two', e.g.

iru·v-ar 'two persons'
muu·v-ar 'three persons'
naal·v-ar 'four persons'
ai·v-ar 'five persons'

In this case the suffix *-ar* does not have singular, but plural function. Pronominalized numerals are nominals and occur as arguments of predicates. Examples:

(230) *oruvan̲* *va-nt-aan̲*
one male person come-pst-3sm
'One male person came.'

(231) *iruvar* *va-nt-aarkaḷ*
two persons come-pst-3pl
'Two persons came.'

When they occur as noun modifier in pre- or post-nominal position, there is, however, a peculiarity. Pronominalized numerals occurring in post-nominal position are not interpreted as pronominals, but as numerals only. Example:

(232) *paiyan̲* *oruvan̲*
boy one male person
'one boy'

The reason is that when numerals are postposed over the head noun, they are nominalized—see 5.8.—and appear thus in their pronominalized form. When pronominalized numerals occur, however, in pre-nominal position as noun modifiers, they are not interpreted as numerals, but as pronominals, modifying a head noun as genitive nominal. See for example:

(233) *oruvan̲* *caṭṭai*
one male person shirt
'the shirt of one male person'

2.20
Reduplicated cardinal numerals

Cardinal numerals—including their adjectival and pronominalized forms—can undergo the process of partial reduplication to form distributive numerals. Hereby the first syllable of the cardinal numeral is reduplicated and when necessary a double glide is inserted:

o·vv-on̲r̲u 'each one, one by one'
o·vv-oru 'each'
o·vv-oruvan̲ 'each male person'
o·vv-orutti 'each female person'
o·vv-oruvar 'each person (honorific)'
i·vv-iranṭu 'each two, two by two'
i·vv-iruvar 'each person'

mu-muun̲r̲u 'each three'
mu-muuvar 'each three persons'

When these reduplicated numerals function as distributive numerals, the inclusive clitic *-um* cooccurs with the numeral when it occurs as argument NP (234), or postposed noun modifier (235). When the numeral occurs as noun modifier in pre-nominal position (236), the clitic *-um* occurs with the head noun. Examples:

(234) *kumaar* *o·vv-oruvar-ukk-um* *oru* *ṭikkaṭ*
Kumar one person-one person-dat-incl a ticket
koṭu-tt-aan̲
give-pst-3sm
'Kumar gave a ticket to each person.'

(235) *paiyaṅ-kaḷ* *o·vv-oruvar-ukk-um* *oru* *paricu*
boy-pl one person-one person-dat-incl a gift
koṭu-tt-aarkaḷ
give-pst-3pl
'(They) gave a gift to each student.'

(236) *i·vv-iranṭu* *maaṇavar-kaḷ-um* *oru* *ar̲ai·y-il* *taṅku-kir̲-aarkaḷ*
two-two student-pl-incl a room-loc stay-pres-3pl
'Each two students stay in one room.'

When *on̲r̲u* and the pronominal forms *oruvan̲*, *orutti*, *oruvar* are reduplicated in their full phonological forms, reciprocal pronouns are formed, e.g. *oruvan̲ oruvan̲*. This is discussed in detail under 5.3.

2.21
Ordinal numerals

Ordinal numerals are derived from cardinal numerals by the addition of the clitic *-aavatu* or *-aam*, e.g.

on̲r̲u	'one'	:	*on̲r̲-aavatu/on̲r̲-aam*	'first'
iranṭu	'two'	:	*iranṭ-aavatu/iranṭ-aam*	'second'
muun̲r̲u	'three'	:	*muun̲r̲-aavatu/muun̲r̲-aam*	'third'

The noun *mutal* 'the first' occurs also as a variant of the first ordinal *on̲r̲-aavatu/on̲r̲-aam*. The clitics *-aavatu* and *-aam* can also be added to *mutal*: *mutal-aavatu/mutal-aam*. The two forms cardinal numeral + *-aavatu* and cardinal numeral + *-aam* have categorically a different

status. The ordinal numeral derived by means of the clitic *-aavatu* is a nominal. The form *-aavatu* is the future neuter participial noun form of the verb *aaku* 'become', which has become cliticized. Since the ordinal numeral formed with this clitic has the status of a nominal, it can occur, for example, in predicate position (237), or together with the suffix *-aaka* (238), and as noun modifier (239):

(237) *inta·t tokuti iranṭ-aavatu*
this volume two-ord
'This volume is the second (one).'

(238) *kumaar iranṭ-aavat-aaka va-nt-aan*
Kumar two-ord-adv come-pst-3sm
'Kumar came second (as second one).'

(239) *itu iranṭ-aavatu tokuti*
this two-ord volume
'This is the second volume.'

The ordinal numeral derived by means of the suffix *-aam*, on the other hand, is an adjectival. The suffix *-aam* is the future adjectival participle form *aak-um* of the verb *aaku* 'become', which has been phonologically reduced to *-aam* and acquired a clitic status. Therefore, this ordinal numeral occurs as noun modifier only. Example:

(240) *itu iranṭ-aam tokuti*
this two-ord volume
'This is the second volume.'

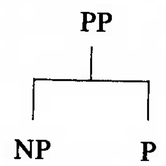
2.22
Verbs
Verbs occur as predicates in the rightmost position of a clause. As predicates they select arguments, e.g. subject, object, locative NPs, and assign case to their arguments and adverbial adjuncts. Another syntactic property of verbs in Tamil is that they can govern subordinate verb forms. As will be shown in chapter four, verbs occurring as finite verbs in clause final position can be complemented by non-finite verbs preceding them. These non-finite verb forms, being subordinate to the finite verb form, are governed by the latter with respect to the interpretation of tense or subject.

Postpositions
2.23
All postpositions in Tamil are formally uninflected or inflected noun forms or non-finite verb forms. To express, for example, the various locative functions, Tamil uses nouns denoting various locations as postpositions. As mentioned above, the respective noun and verb forms are syntactically reanalyzed to a closed class of postpositions. Again, there is not always agreement among grammarians whether a given noun form, for instance, should be analyzed as postposition or noun, see Balasubramaniyam (1973)

Many of the noun forms used as postpositions are morphologically defective, that is, they cannot occur with all case markers. Many of these noun forms are also syntactically defective, that is, they do not occur in all nominal positions and with all grammatical functions as other nouns do. For example, the nouns *naṭu* and *iṭai*, both meaning 'center', occur with the locative case suffix *-il* as postpositions only. However, they do not occur with functions like subject, object, or predicate. These noun forms are thus syntactically frozen to postpositions. A great number of these noun forms occur both as postpositions and adverbs.

When a closed set of noun and verb forms occur as postpositions (P), they follow a noun phrase (NP) and form with the preceding noun phrase a postpositional phrase:

(241)



For example, the noun *maatiri* 'manner, way', when occurring as postposition with comparative function 'like', follows a noun phrase in accusative case and forms together with the noun phrase one constituent—a postpositional phrase. Example:

(242) *kumaar* [$_{PP}$[$_{NP}$ *panri·y-ai*] [$_{P}$ *maatiri*]] *katt-in-aan*
Kumar pig-acc like cry-pst-3sm
'Kumar cried like a pig.'

That the noun form *maatiri*, occurring as postposition, forms one constituent with the preceding noun phrase is evidenced, for example, by

cleft sentences—see 5.6, in which both the postposition *maatiri* and the preceding noun phrase are moved as one constituent to the right over the nominalized verb. Example:

(243) *kumaar katt-i·y-atu* $[_{PP}[_{NP}$ *paṉṟi·y-ai*$]$ $[_{P}$ *maatiri*$]]$ *taaṉ*
Kumar cry-pst-nom pig-acc like emph
'It was like a pig that Kumar was crying.'

When various noun and verb forms occur as postpositions, they cease to display the syntactic properties of nouns (N) and verbs (V). This justifies their syntactic reanalysis from nouns and verbs to postpositions (P). Co-ordination is an instance where this can be illustrated. 'And' co-ordination in Tamil is realized by the suffixation of the co-ordinating clitic *-um* to each element conjoined, see 4.2. There is, however, the constraint that only identical lexical categories can be conjoined, e.g., noun (N) + noun (N), or verb (V) + verb (V), but not noun (N) + verb (V), or adjective (Adj) + adverb (Adv), etc. As the following example shows, the noun form *muṉṉaal* (*muṉ* 'anteriority' + instrumental case suffix *-aal*) and the verb form *pint-i* (*pintu* 'lag behind' + verbal participle suffix *-i*) can, however, be conjoined with *-um*:

(244) *kumaar raajaa·v-ai viiṭ·ṭu-kku muṉṉaalee·y-um*
Kumar Raja-acc house-dat before-co
koṭṭakai-kku·p pinti·y-um teeṭ-iṉ-aaṉ
shed-dat behind-co search-pst-3sm
'Kumar was searching for Raja in front of the house and behind the shed.'

In the above example a noun form and a verb form can be co-ordinated because both of them are syntactically reanalyzed to postpositions. We have, therefore, a co-ordination of identical lexical categories: postposition (P) + postposition (P).

The following is a list of postpositions classified according to their form and the inflected noun after which they occur.

1. Nouns in bare form.
   a) after nouns in nominative case:
      muulam 'with' from *muulam* 'instrument'
      varai 'until' from *varai* 'limit'
   b) after nouns in oblique form:
      aṇṭai 'near' from *aṇṭai* 'side'
      aruku 'near' from *aruku* 'nearness'
      aaṭṭaṉ 'like' from *aaṭṭaṉ* 'motion'

      kiṭṭa 'near' from *kiṭṭam* 'nearness'
      kiiẓ 'under' from *kiiẓ* 'inferiority'
      pakkam 'near' from *pakkam* 'side'
      paṭi 'according to' from *paṭi* 'manner, way'
   c) after nouns in dative case:
      a-p·paal 'beyond' from demonstrative stem *a-* + *paal* 'side'
      a-p·puṟam 'after' from demonstrative stem *a-* + *puṟam* 'side'
      uḷ 'inside' from *uḷ* 'interiority'
      kiẓakku 'east' from *kiẓakku* 'east'
      kiiẓ 'below' from *kiiẓ* 'inferiority'
      teeṟku 'south' from *teeṟku* 'south'
      piṉ 'after' from *piṉ* 'posteriority'
      piṟaku 'after' from *piṟaku* 'posteriority'
      muṉ 'before' from *muṉ* 'anteriority'
      meel 'above' from *meel* 'superiority'
      meeṟku 'west' from *meeṟku* 'west'
      vaṭakku 'north' from *vaṭakku* 'north'
   d) after nouns in accusative case:
      maatiri 'like' from *maatiri* 'manner'
      (Note that some of the above nouns can also occur as postpositions with a case suffix, e.g. the locative case suffix *-il* or the instrumental case suffix *-aal*, or with the euphonic clitic *-ee*. Examples will be given under the illustration of the individual postpositions.)

2. Nouns + euphonic clitic *-ee*.
   after nouns in dative case:
      etir-ee 'opposite' from *etir* 'the opposite'
      kurukk-ee 'across' from *kuṟukku* 'transverseness'
      veḷḷ·y-ee 'outside' from *veḷi* 'exteriority'

3. Nouns + locative case suffix *-il*.
   after nouns in dative case:
      iṭai·y-il 'in between' from *iṭai* 'center'
      naṭu·v-il 'in the middle' from *naṭu* 'center'

4. Nouns + so-called adverbializing suffix *-aaka*.
   a) after nouns in oblique form:
      vaẓi·y-aaka 'through' from *vaẓi* 'way'
   b) after nouns in dative case:
      patil-aaka 'instead of' from *paṭi* 'substitute'

5. Verbs in verbal participle form.
   a) after nouns in accusative case:

ooṭṭ-i	'regarding'	from	*ooṭṭu* 'stick'
kuṟi-ttu	'about'	from	*kuṟi* 'aim'
koṇ-ṭu	'with'	from	*koḷ* 'take'
cuṟṟ-i	'around'	from	*cuṟṟu* 'circulate'
tavir-ttu	'except'	from	*tavir* 'avoid'
taaṇṭ-i	'across'	from	*taaṇṭu* 'cross'
paṟṟ-i	'about'	from	*paṟṟu* 'seize'
paar-ttu	'towards'	from	*paar* 'see'
viṭ-ṭu	'from'	from	*viṭu* 'leave'
vai-ttu	'with'	from	*vai* 'put'
nookk-i	'towards'	from	*nookku* 'see'

   b) after nouns in dative case:

pint-i	'after'	from	*pintu* 'be behind'
munt-i	'before'	from	*muntu* 'precede'

6. Verbs in infinitive form.
   after nouns in accusative case:

tavir-a	'except'	from	*tavir* 'avoid'
ozi·y-a	'except'	from	*oẓi* 'cease'
pool-a	'like'	from	*pool* 'seem'
viṭ-a	'than'	from	*viṭu* 'leave'

7. Verbs in conditional form + *-poola*.
   after nouns in dative case:

etir-tt·aaṟ-pool-a	'opposite'	from	*etir* 'oppose'
aṭu-tt·aaṟ-pool-a	'next to'	from	*aṭu* 'be adjacent'

8. Verbs in negative verbal participle form.
   after nouns in nominative case:

ill-aa-mal	'without'	from	*il* 'be not'
all-aa-mal	'except'	from	*al* 'be not'

In the above list of postpositions the various noun and verb forms when inflected have been presented in a segmentized way for the sake of illustration of their form. Syntactically, however, these word forms are one element and cannot be analyzed further into parts. They are listed as one word form in the lexicon. In the following illustration of the postpositions we will present the various postpositions arranged according to the case form of the preceding noun phrase, that is according to the case which the postposition governs on the preceding noun phrase.

2.24
Postpositions after nouns in nominative case

1) *muulam* 'with'
The noun *muulam* 'instrument' occurs as postposition, expressing instrumental case function 'with', as the case suffix *-aal* does. Example:

(245) *kumaar caavi muulam katav-ai·t tiṟa-nt-aaṉ*
Kumar key with door-acc open-pst-3sm
'Kumar opened the door with a key.'

2) *varai*, *varaikkum*, *varaiyil* 'upto, until'
The noun *varai* 'limit' occurs in its uninflected form and in its forms inflected for dative case + clitic *-um*, that is *varai-kk-um*, and inflected for locative case, that is *varai·y-il*, as a postposition which expresses anterior location and duration 'upto, until'. Examples:

(246) *kumaar viiṭu varai/varaikkum/varaiyil ooṭṭ-iṉ-aaṉ*
Kumar house upto drive-pst-3sm
'Kumar drove up to the house.'

(247) *kumaar aintu maṇi varai/varaikkum/varaiyil tuuṅk-iṉ-aaṉ*
Kumar five hour until sleep-pst-3sm
'Kumar slept until five o'clock.'

3) *illaamal* 'without'
The verb *il* 'be not' occurs with its negative verbal participle form *ill-aa-mal* as postposition with negative instrumental and negative comitative function. Examples:

(248) *kumaar katav-ai·c caavi illaamal tiṟa-nt-aaṉ*
Kumar door-acc key without open-pst-3sm
'Kumar opened the door without a key.'

(249) *kumaar appaa illaamal va-nt-aaṉ*
Kumar father without come-pst-3sm
'Kumar came without father.'

4) *allaamal* 'except'
The verb *al* 'be not' occurs with its negative verbal participle form *all-aa-mal* as postposition, expressing exception 'except'. Example:

(250) *kumaar allaamal elloorum va-nt-aarkaḷ*
Kumar except everyone come-pst-3pl
'Except Kumar everyone came.'

2.25
Postpositions after nouns in oblique form

1) *pakkam*, *aṇṭai*, *aruku*, *kiṭṭa* 'near'
The nouns *pakkam* and *aṇṭai*, meaning 'side', and the nouns *aruku* and *kiṭṭam*, denoting 'nearness', occur as postposition to express proximate location 'near'. Hereby *kiṭṭam* drops its final *m*. Example:

(251) *anta viiṭ·ṭu pakkam/aṇṭai/aruku/kiṭṭa oru*
that house(obl) near a
aalamaram iru-kkiṟ-atu
banyan tree be-pres-3sn
'There is a banyan tree near our house.'

All noun forms, except *kiṭṭam*, can also occur with the locative case suffix as postposition: *pakka-tt-il*, *aṇṭai·y-il*, *aruk-il*.

2) *meel* 'on'
The noun *meel* 'superiority', optionally with the euphonic clitic *-ee*, that is with the form *meel-ee*, occurs as a postposition after nouns in oblique form to express superior location 'on', in which case the two entities are in contact. Example:

(252) *kumaar meecai·y-iṉ meel(ee) uṭkaar-kiṟ-aaṉ*
Kumar table-euph on sit-pres-3sm
'Kumar is sitting on the table.'

When the two entities are not in contact, *meel(ee)* follows a noun in dative case—see below. The postposition *meel(ee)* can also occur with the bound postposition *-iruntu*, which expresses ablative function, e.g. *meecai·y-iṉ meel-iruntu* 'from the table'.

3) *kiiẓ* 'under'
The noun *kiiẓ* 'inferiority', optionally with the euphonic clitic *-ee*, that is with the form *kiiẓ(-ee)*, occurs as a postposition after nouns in oblique form to express inferior location 'under', in which case the two entities are in contact. Example:

(253) *mara-tt-iṉ kiiẓee maṇal iru-kkiṟ-atu*
tree-obl-euph under sand be-pres-3sn
'There is sand under the tree.'

When the two entities are not in contact, *kiiẓ(-ee)* follows a noun in dative case—see below. *kiiẓ* can also cooccur with the bound postposition *-iruntu*, e.g. *mara-tt-iṉ kiiẓ-iruntu* 'from under the tree'.

4) *aaṭṭam* 'motion'
The noun *aaṭṭam* 'motion' occurs as a postposition to express comparison 'like'. Example:

(254) *kumaar panṟi·y-aaṭṭam katt-iṉ-aaṉ*
Kumar pig-like cry-pst-3sm
'Kumar cried like a pig.'

5) *mutal* 'from'
The noun *mutal* 'beginning' occurs with time nouns as postposition, expressing posterior duration 'since, from'. Example:

(255) *kaalai mutal maẓai pey-kiṟ-atu*
morning since rain fall-pres-3sn
'It has been raining since morning.'

The postposition *mutal* can also express the starting point of a series when a noun phrase followed by the postposition *varai* 'up to', which expresses the end point of a series, cooccurs in the sentence. See for example:

(256) *onṟu mutal pattu varai eṇṇu*
one from ten up to count
'Count from one to ten.'

6) *paṭi* 'according to'
The noun *paṭi* 'manner, way' occurs as a postposition which expresses 'according to'. Example:

(257) *kumaar jaati kaṭṭuppaaṭ·ṭu paṭi kaliyaaṇam*
Kumar caste rule(obl) according to marriage
cey·y-a·v-ill-ai
do-inf-be not-3pln
'Kumar didn't marry according to the caste rules.'

7) *vaẓiyaaka* 'through'
The noun *vaẓi* 'path, way' with the so-called adverbializing suffix *-aaka* occurs as postposition, expressing motion through an object 'through'. Example:

(258) *kumaar tooṭṭa-ttu vaẓiyaaka va-nt-aan̲*
Kumar garden-obl through come-pst-3sm
'Kumar came through the garden.'

2.26
Postpositions after nouns in dative case

1) *pir̲aku* 'after'
The noun *pir̲aku* 'posteriority' occurs as postposition, expressing posterior location in time 'after'. Example:

(259) *kumaar caappaaṭ·ṭu-kku·p pir̲aku tuuṅku-kir̲-aan̲*
Kumar meal-dat after sleep-pres-3sm
'Kumar sleeps after lunch.'

2) *appur̲am* 'after', behind'
The noun *pur̲am* 'side' occurs after the remote demonstrative stem *a-*, which triggers doubling of the noun initial stop *p*, that is with the form *a-p·pur̲am*, as a postposition to express posterior location in time and space 'after, behind'. Examples:

(260) *kumaar oru maata-ttu-kku appur̲am va-nt-aan̲*
Kumar one month-obl-dat after come-pst-3sm
'Kumar came after one month.'

(261) *viiṭ·ṭu-kku appur̲am oru tooṭṭam iru-kkir̲-atu*
house-dat behind a garden be-pres-3sn
'Behind the house is a garden.'

3) *appaal* 'beyond'
The noun *paal* 'side' occurs after the remote demonstrative stem *a-*, which triggers doubling of the initial stop *p*, that is with the form *a-p·paal*, as a postposition which expresses ulterior location 'beyond'. Example:

(262) *aar̲·r̲u-kku appaal oru kiraamam iru-kkir̲-atu*
river-dat beyond a village be-pres-3sn
'Beyond the river there is a village.'

The postposition *appaal* can also occur with the bound postposition *-iruntu*, which has ablative case function, e.g. *aar̲·r̲u-kku appaal-iruntu* 'from beyond the river'.

4) *vaṭakku* 'north', *kiẓakku* 'east', *teer̲ku* 'south', *meer̲ku* 'west'
The four direction nouns *vaṭakku*, *kiẓakku*, *teer̲ku*, and *meer̲ku* 'north, east, south, west' occur as postpositions, expressing the four directional locations. Example:

(263) *uuru-kku·k kiẓakku kaṭal iru-kkir̲-atu*
town-dat east sea be-pres-3sn
'East of the town is the sea.'

5) *meel* 'above, after'
The postposition *meel(ee)*, when occurring after a noun in dative case, expresses superior location 'above' and non-contact of the two entities involved. Compare the following (264) with (252) above.

(264) *meecai-kku meel(ee) oru viḷakku toṅku-kir̲-atu*
table-dat above a lamp hang-pres-3sn
'A lamp is hanging above the table.'

When following a time noun in dative case, *meel(ee)* expresses superior location in time 'after'. Example:

(265) *kumaar aintu maṇi-kku meel(ee) va-nt-aan̲*
Kumar five hour-dat after come-pst-3sm
'Kumar came after five o'clock.'

6) *kiiẓ* 'below'
The postposition *kiiẓ(ee)*, when occurring after a noun in dative case, expresses inferior location 'below' and non-contact of the two entities involved. Compare the following (266) with (253) above. Example:

(266) *meecai-kku·k kiiẓ(ee) oru peṭṭi iru-kkir̲-atu*
table-dat below a box be-pres-3sn
'A box is below the table.'

7) *uḷ* 'inside, into, within'
The noun *uḷ* 'interiority', optionally with the euphonic clitic *-ee*, that is with the form *uḷ(ḷ-ee)*, occurs as a postposition to express interior location in space and time 'into, within'. Example:

(267) *kumaar viiṭ·ṭu-kku uḷ(ḷee) poo-n-aan*
Kumar house-dat into go-pst-3sm
'Kumar went into the house.'

Frequently *uḷ(ḷee)* occurs as bound form, especially with time nouns, e.g.

(268) *kumaar inta vaara-ttu-kk-uḷ(ḷee) veelai·y-ai*
Kumar this week-obl-dat-within work-acc
muṭi·kk-a veeṇṭ-um
finish-inf must-fu+3sn
'Kumar has to finish the work within this week.'

8) *veḷiyee* 'outside'
The noun *veḷi* 'exteriority', together with the euphonic clitic *-ee*, that is with the form *veḷi·y-ee*, occurs as a postposition to express exterior location 'outside'. Example:

(269) *viiṭ·ṭu-kku veḷiyee oree cattam iru-kkir-atu*
house-dat outside very noise be-pres-3sn
'Outside the house there is a lot of noise.'

9) *mun*, *munnaal*, *munpu*, *munti* 'before, in front of'
The noun *mun* 'anteriority', optionally with the instrumental case suffix *-aal*, that is with the form *munn-aal*, or optionally with nominalizing suffix *-pu*, that is with the form *mun-pu*, and also the verb *muntu* 'precede' with its verbal participle form *munt-i*, occur as postpositions to express anterior location in time and space 'before, in front of'. Examples:

(270) *aintu maṇi-kku mun/munnaal/munpu/munti vaa*
five hour-dat before come
'Come before five o'clock.'

(271) *kaṭai-kku mun/munnaal/munpu/munti oree kuuṭṭam*
shop-dat in front of very crowd
iru-kkir-atu
be-pres-3sn
'There is a lot of crowd in front of the shop.'

Note that the semantic function of the instrumental case suffix in *munn-aal* is to express location. As noted by Shanmugam (1971:260-1), in Old Tamil the case suffix *-aal* can express location. However, in Modern Tamil this function of the case suffix *-aal* occurs only when *-aal* is added to a restricted number of nouns expressing time or place, for example, *kaalaṅka-tt-aal* 'in the early morning' or *munn-aal* and *pinn-aal* (the latter postposition is discussed under item 10) below). Due to the locative function of the suffix *-aal*, the form *munnaal* can also occur together with the bound postposition *-iruntu*, which has the ablative case function, as is seen, for example, in *kaṭai-kku munn-aal-iruntu* 'from in front of the shop'.

10) *pin*, *pinnaal*, *pinpu*, *pinti* 'behind, after'
The noun *pin* 'posteriority', optionally with the instrumental case suffix *-aal* or the nominalizing suffix *-pu*, that is with the forms *pinn-aal* and *pin-pu*, and also the verb *pintu* 'lag behind' with its verbal participle form *pint-i*, occur as postpositions to express posterior location in time and space 'behind, after'. Examples:

(272) *kumaar viruntu-kku·p pin/pinnaal/pinpu/pinti va-nt-aan*
Kumar feast-dat after come-pst-3sm
'Kumar came after the feast.'

(273) *kumaar katavu-kku·p pin/pinnaal/pinpu/pinti nin-r-aan*
Kumar door-dat behind stand-pst-3sm
'Kumar stood behind the door.'

As in the case of *munnaal*, the ablative case marker *-iruntu* can occur with *pinnaal*, e.g. *mara-ttu-kku·p pinn-aal-iruntu* 'from behind the tree'.

11) *kuṟukkee* 'across'
The noun *kuṟukku* 'transverseness', together with the euphonic clitic *-ee*, that is with the form *kuṟukk-ee*, occurs as a postposition to express motion to an ulterior location 'across'. Example:

(274) *oru eli meecai-kku·k kuṟukkee ooṭ-i·y-atu*
a mouse table-dat across run-pst-3sn
'A mouse ran across the table.'

12) *etiree*, *etirkku*, *etiril* 'opposite'
The noun *etir* 'that which is opposite' occurs with the euphonic clitic *-ee*, or the dative case suffix *-kku*, or the locative case suffix *-il*, that is with

the forms *etir-ee*, *etir-kku*, and *etir-il* as postposition, expressing citerior location 'opposite'. Example:

(275) *anta* *viiṭ·ṭu-kku* *etiree/etirkku/etiril* *oru* *koovil*
that house-dat opposite a temple
iru-kkiṟ-atu
be-pres-3sn
'Opposite that house is a temple.'

The postposition *etiril* occurs also with the ablative case marker, e.g. *viiṭ·ṭu-kku etir-il-iruntu* 'from opposite the house'.

13) *iṭaiyil*, *naṭuvil* 'in the middle of, between'
The nouns *iṭai* and *naṭu*, both of which mean 'center', occur together with the locative case suffix *-il*, that is with the forms *iṭai·y-il* and *naṭu·v-il*, as a postposition to express medial location 'between, in the middle of'. Examples:

(276) *uuru-kku* *naṭuvil/iṭaiyil* *oru* *koovil* *iru-kkiṟ-atu*
town-dat in the middle of a temple be-pres-3sn
'There is a temple in the middle of the town.'

Both postpositions occur also with the ablative case marker, as in *uuru-kku naṭu·v-il-iruntu/iṭai·y-il-iruntu* 'from the middle of the town'.

14) *patilaaka* 'instead of'
The noun *patil* 'answer, exchange, substitution' together with the so-called adverbializing suffix *-aaka* occurs as a postposition to express 'instead of'. Example:

(277) *ciṉimaa·v-ukku·p* *patilaaka·k* *kaṭaṟkarai-kku·p* poo-v-oom
cinema-dat instead of beach-dat go-fu-1pl
'Instead of to the cinema we will go to the beach.'

15) *etirttaaṟpoola* 'opposite'
The verb *etir* 'oppose' occurs with its conditional form *etir-tt·aal* + the postposition *poola* 'like', that is with the form *etir-tt·aaṟ-poola*, as a postposition to express citerior location 'opposite', e.g.

(278) *koovil-ukku* *etirtaaṟpoola* *oru* *kuḷam* *iru-kkiṟ-atu*
temple-dat opposite a temple be-pres-3sn
'Opposite the temple there is a tank.'

16) *aṭuttaaṟpoola* 'next'
The verb *aṭu* 'be adjacent' occurs also with its conditional form *aṭu-tt·aal* + the postposition *poola* 'like', that is with the form *aṭu-tt·aaṟ-poola*, as a postposition to express adjacent location 'next', e.g.

(279) *anta* *viiṭ·ṭu-kku* *aṭuttaaṟpoola* *oru* *kaṭai* iru-kkiṟ-atu
that house-dat next a shop be-pres-3sn
'Next to that house is a shop.'

2.27
Postpositions after nouns in accusative case

1) *paṟṟi*, *kuṟittu* 'about'
The verbs *paṟṟu* 'seize' and *kuṟi* 'aim' occur with their verbal participle forms *paṟṟ-i* and *kuṟi-ttu* as postpositions, expressing 'about'. Example:

(280) *kumaar* *moẕiyiyal-ai·p* *paṟṟi/kuṟittu·p* *peec-iṉ-aaṉ*
Kumar linguistics-acc about talk-pst-3sm
'Kumar talked about linguistics.'

2) *paarttu*, *nookki* 'towards'
The verbs *paar* and *nookku*, both meaning 'see', occur with their verbal participle forms *paar-ttu* and *nookk-i* as postpositions, expressing the direction of verbal or mental activity 'towards'. Example:

(281) *kumaar* *raajaa·v-ai·p* *paarttu/nookki·p* *peec-iṉ-aaṉ*
Kumar Raja-acc towards talk-pst-3sm
'Kumar talked towards Raja.'

3) *cuṟṟi* 'around'
The verb *cuṟṟu* 'circle' occurs with its verbal participle form *cuṟṟ-i* as postposition, expressing circumferential location 'around'. Example:

(282) *viiṭ·ṭ-ai·c* *cuṟṟi·c* *caakkaṭai* *iru-kkiṟ-atu*
house-acc around gutter be-pres-3sn
'There is a gutter around the house.'

4) *taanṭi* 'across'
The verb *taanṭu* 'cross' occurs with its verbal participle form *taanṭ-i* as a postposition which expresses ulterior location 'across', e.g.

(283) *eṅkaḷ viiṭu koovil-ai·t taaṇṭi iru-kkiṟ-atu*
we(obl) house temple-acc across be-pres-3sn
'Our house lies across the temple.'

5) *tavirttu*, *tavira*, *oẓiya* 'except'
The verb *tavir* 'leave, avoid', which occurs both as a strong and weak verb, is used with the verbal participle form of its strong verb stem, that is with the form *tavir-ttu*, and with the infinitive form of its weak stem, that is with the form *tavir-a*, as postposition, expressing exception 'except, besides'. With the same function occurs also the verb *oẓi* 'cease' with its infinitive form *oẓi·y-a*. Example:

(284) *kumaar-ai·t tavirttu/tavira/oẓiya veeṟu yaar-um*
Kumar-acc except else who-incl
var-a·v-ill-ai
come-inf-be not-3pln
'Except Kumar no one else came.'

6) *oṭṭi* 'in connection with'
The verb *oṭṭu* 'stick' occurs with its verbal participle form *oṭṭ-i* as a postposition which expresses 'in connection with, regarding'. Example:

(285) *kumaar aaraaycci·y-ai oṭṭi veḷiṉaaṭ·ṭu-kku·c*
Kumar research-acc regarding foreign country-dat
ceṉ-ṟ-aaṉ
go-pst-3sm
'In connection with research Kumar went abroad.'

7) *koṇṭu*, *vaittu* 'with'
The verbs *koḷ* 'hold' and *vai* 'put' occur with their verbal participle forms *koṇ-ṭu* and *vai-ttu* as postpositions, expressing the instrumental function, otherwise expressed by the case suffix *-aal*. Example.

(286) *kumaar katti·y-ai·k koṇṭu/vaittu·p paẓa-tt-ai*
Kumar knife-acc with fruit-obl-acc
veṭṭ-iṉ-aaṉ
cut-pst-3sm
'Kumar cut the fruit with a knife.'

8) *viṭṭu* 'from'
The verb *viṭu* 'leave' with its verbal participle form *viṭ·ṭu* occurs as a postposition to express source of motion 'from'. Example:

(287) *kumaar viiṭ·ṭ-ai viṭṭu ooṭ-iṉ-aaṉ*
Kumar house-acc from run-pst-3sm
'Kumar ran away from home.'

9) *poola*, *maatiri* 'like'
The verb *pool* 'be similar' with its infinitive form *pool-a* and the noun *maatiri* 'manner, way' occur as a postposition to express comparison 'like'. Example:

(288) *kumaar paṉṟi·y-ai·p poola/maatiri katt-iṉ-aaṉ*
Kumar pig-acc like cry-pst-3sm
'Kumar cried like a pig.'

Note in this context that the word *maatiri* as noun could never assign accusative case to the preceding noun, as in the above example. Ony after categorical reanalysis to a postposition, *maatiri*, following the behavior of *poola*, can govern accusative case.

10) *viṭa* 'than'
The verb *viṭu* 'leave' with its infinitive form *viṭ-a* occurs as a postposition to express comparison 'than'. Example:

(289) *kumaar raajaa·v-ai viṭa uyaram-aaka iru-kkiṟ-aaṉ*
Kumar Raja-acc than height-adv be-pres-3sm
'Kumar is taller than Raja.'

Adjectives

2.28
The grammatical literature distinguishes between simple and derived adjectives in Modern Tamil. Both types will be discussed in the following.

2.29
Simple adjectives

The lexical category of adjectives is a another syntactic category in Modern Tamil which has evolved in a diachronic process. This has been noted and described by Andronow (1972) and in the following we will draw on his analysis.

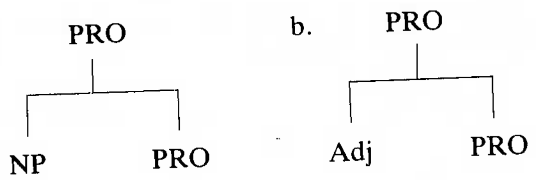
Old Tamil has a word formation process which adds a pronominal suffix to a nominal or adjectival root, e.g., to the noun *val* 'strength', or the adjectival root *nal* 'good':

vall-een̲ 'I who have strength'
vall-aay 'you who have strength'
vall-aan̲ 'he who has strength'
etc.
vall-a 'they (things) which have strength'

nall-een̲ 'I who am good'
nall-aay 'you who are good'
nall-aan̲ 'he who is good'
etc.
nall-a 'they(things) which are good, good ones'

These word forms have been variously referred to as appellative nouns, personal nouns, or pronominalized nouns. Syntactically these word forms are complex pronominals, consisting of a pronominal head—the pronominal suffix—complemented by a preceding noun (phrase) or adjective, as shown by the following representation and expressed by the above given English translations.

(290) a. b.



As nominals these complex pronominals occur in all positions a nominal can occur, that is as subject, object, adverbial, predicate, and noun modifier. For example, the form *nall-a*, which consists of the adjectival root *nal* 'good, nice' and the third person-plural-neuter suffix *-a* and which may be translated with 'they (things) which are good/nice' or 'good/nice things (ones)', occurs as object in (291a), as predicate in (291b), and as noun modifier in (291c):

(291) a. ... *nall-a* *kuur̲-i* ... (*Kur̲untokai* 293-5)
nice-3pln say-vbp
'... saying nice things ...'

b. ... *vaal* *vaḷai* *nall-a·v-oo* (*Aiṅkur̲un̲uur̲u* 193-5)
whiteness bangle nice-3pln-Q
'... are the white bangles nice ones?'

c. ... *nall-a* *peṛu* *tooḷ* ... (*Nar̲r̲in̲ai* 13-15)
nice-3pln big shoulder
'... the big shoulders which are nice ones ...'

In Modern Tamil these complex pronominal forms occur only with a restricted number of adjectival roots and nouns and thereby only with the third person-plural-neuter suffix *-a*, e.g. *nal* 'good': *nall-a*, *peru* 'great': *peri·y-a*, or *aẓaku* 'beauty': *aẓaki·y-a*, *maalai* 'evening': *maalai·y-a*. In these cases the pronominal suffix *-a* has lost its opposition to other person, number, gender categories and has, therefore, ceased to function as pronominal suffix. Moreover, the whole word form has lost the syntactic property of a pronominal. These word forms do not occur in the various nominal positions anymore, such as subject, object, predicate, etc., but only in the noun modifier position, as in the case of the Old Tamil example (291c). These forms are thus syntactically frozen to the pre-nominal noun modifier position. For these reasons, word forms like *nalla* and *aẓakiya* are syntactically reanalyzed to adjectives (Adj) in Modern Tamil and cannot be segmentized anymore. Furthermore, since these forms have the categorical status of an adjective, they have to be nominalized when they occur in the predicate position as, apart from verbs, only nominals, but no adjectives, can occur as predicates in Tamil—see below. The most important members of the class of adjectives are given in the following. Hereby the respective forms are contrasted with their occurrences in Old Tamil.

Modern Tamil		Old Tamil				
in̲iya	'sweet'	*in̲i·y-a*	'sweet ones'	from	*in̲i*	'sweet'
cir̲iya	'small'	*cir̲i·y-a*	'small one'	from	*cir̲u*	'small'
nalla	'good'	*nall-a*	'good ones'	from	*nal*	'good'
paẓaiya	'old'	*paẓai·y-a*	'old ones'	from	*paẓai*	'old'
periya	'big'	*peri·y-a*	'big ones'	from	*peru*	'big'
putiya	'new'	*puti·y-a*	'new ones'	from	*putu*	'new'

aẓakiya	'beautiful'	*aẓaki·y-a*	'beautiful ones' from *aẓaku* 'beauty'
kaalaiya	'morning'	*kaalai·y-a*	'ones of the morning' from *kaalai* 'morning'

Adjectives are defined as a lexical category in Modern Tamil on the basis of the following syntactic properties.

i) adjectives occur as noun modifiers in a pre-nominal position between a determiner (Det), e.g. *inta* 'this', and the head noun(N), that is in the following slot: Det ___ N. Examples:

(292) *inta·p nalla paiyan̲*
this nice boy
'this nice boy'

(293) *inta aẓakiya peṇ*
this beautiful girl
'this beautiful girl'

ii) as mentioned above, when adjectives occur in predicate position, they have to be pronominalized, that is occur in the form of the adjectival noun—see 1.55. This is illustrated by the following examples:

(294) *inta·p paiyan̲ nalla·v-an̲*
this boy nice-3sm
'This boy is a nice one.'

(295) *inta·p peṇ aẓakiya·v-aḷ*
this girl beautiful-3sf
'This girl is a beautiful one.'

iii) adjectives are the only lexical category which is not able to cooccur with clitics of whatever type.

2.30
Derived adjectives
The past adjectival participle form of the verb *aaku* 'become', that is the form *aan̲a*, occurs as a bound form added to nouns. In this case the noun + *-aan̲a* constructions occur in the syntactic position of simple adjectives, that is between a determiner and the head noun. Examples:

(296) *oru aẓak-aan̲a peṇ*
a beauty-become-pst-adj girl
'a beautiful girl'

(297) *oru uyaram-aan̲a kaṭṭaṭam*
a height-become-pst-adj building
'a high building'

In the above examples, the grammatical literature analyzes the bound adjectival participle *-aan̲a* as a form which has required suffixal status and refers to it as derivational suffix. The adjectivalized noun is then analyzed as derived adjective. However, there is also an alternative analysis available. First note that there are other adjectival participles which occur as a bound form after a noun in the position of an adjective. For example, the past adjectival participle form *ar̲r̲a* of the defective verb *ar̲u* 'cease' is suffixed to nouns, as shown by the following example:

(298) *oru veelai·y-ar̲r̲a paiyan̲*
a work-cease-pst-adj boy
'a boy without work'

Furthermore, there are also adjectival participles which occur as a free form with one noun only in the slot between determiner and head noun. See the following examples:

(299) a. *oru taṇṇiir illaata kuḷam*
a water be not-neg-adj tank
'a tank without water (in which there is no water)'

b. *oru paṇam uḷḷa man̲itan̲*
a money be-adj person
'a person with money (who has money)'

The noun + adjectival participle sequences in (299) are entitled to be analyzed as adjectival clauses consisting of a verbal predicate with one noun argument only, which occur in the position between determiner and head noun: Det-S-N. Consequently, the noun + bound adjectival participle constructions in (296) to (298) may be analyzed in the same fashion.

The grammatical status of the noun + *-aan̲a* constructions—whether derived adjectives or adjectival clauses—is still an unclear part of the Tamil grammar. For the sake of a formal representation of these constructions, we will present them with the morphological gloss of adjectivalized nouns as N-adj.

Adverbs
2.31
The grammatical literature distinguishes between simple and derived adverbs in Modern Tamil. Derived adverbs are said to be formed from

nouns by the suffixation of the so-called adverbializing suffix *-aaka*. In the present description, we will, however, refer to these word forms as noun + *-aaka* constructions.

2.32
Simple adverbs

In the same way as a number of uninflected and inflected noun and verb forms are syntactically reanalyzed to a closed set of postpositions in Modern Tamil so are also a number of noun and verb forms categorically reanalyzed to a closed set of adverbs. There is even an overlap of word forms which are postpositions and adverbs.

What justifies the postulation of a separate category of adverbs in Modern Tamil are word forms such as

aṭikkaṭi	'frequently'
iṉimeel	'hereafter'
iṉṉum	'still'
maṟupaṭiyum	'again'
miiṇṭum	'again'
mella	'slowly'

Formally these word forms can be identified as inflected verb forms or composite word forms consisting of a noun and a clitic. Thus, *mella* 'slowly' can be identified as the infinitive form of the verb *mel* 'be soft', which is morphologically frozen to the infinitive form in Modern Tamil. The word form *miiṇṭum* is the verbal participle of the verb *miiḷ* 'bring back', followed by the clitic *-um*. The word *iṉimeel* 'hereafter' is composed of the nominal root *iṉi* 'present moment' and the noun *meel* 'superiority'. The word form *iṉṉum* is composed of the nominal root *iṉ(i)* 'moment' and the clitic *-um*. The form *aṭikkaṭi* can formally be segmentized into *aṭi* 'step' + dative case suffix *-kk(u)* + *aṭi* 'step'. Finally, the word form *maṟupaṭiyum* consists of the adjectival root *maṟu* 'other' + the noun *paṭi* 'manner' + the clitic *-um*. Syntactically, however, the above word forms cannot be analyzed as representations of two or more morphemes. Grammatically these word forms are not decomposable. They are one lexical unit and as such listed in the lexicon. The sole syntactic function of these word forms is to occur in pre-verbal position as verb modifier, that is as adverbial. Example:

(300) *mella/ miiṇṭum/ iṉimeel vaa*
slowly again hereafter come
'Come slowly/again/hereafter.'

On the basis of their syntactic function, these word forms are, therefore, categorically analyzed as adverbs.

As mentioned above, many word forms which occur as postpositions occur also as adverbs, that is, they have identical distribution like *mella* 'slowly', *iṉimeel* 'hereafter', *aṭikkaṭi* 'frequently', etc. The following is a list of noun and verb forms which have syntactically a double categorical status of postpostions and adverbs.

i) uninflected noun forms (+ euphonic clitic *-ee*)

appaalee	'there'	from	demonstrative stem *a-* + *paal* 'side' + euphonic clitic *-ee*
appuṟam	'afterwards'	from	demonstrative stem *a-* + *puṟam* 'side' + euphonic clitic *-ee*
uḷḷee	'inside'	from	*uḷ* 'interiority' + clitic *-ee*
etiree	'opposite'	from	*etir* 'that which is opposite' + clitic *-ee*
kiṭṭa	'near'	from	*kiṭṭam* 'nearness'
kiẓakku	'east'	from	*kiẓakku* 'east' + clitic *-ee*
kiiẓee	'down'	from	*kiiẓ* 'inferiority' + clitic *-ee*
kuṟukkee	'across'	from	*kuṟukku* 'transverseness' + clitic *-ee*
muṉṉee	'in front'	from	*muṉ* 'anteriority' + clitic *-ee*
meeṟku	'west'	from	*meeṟku* 'west' + clitic *-ee*
meelee	'up'	from	*meel* 'superiority' + clitic *-ee*
piṉṉee	'behind'	from	*piṉ* 'posteriority' + clitic *-ee*
piṟaku	'afterwards'	from	*piṟaku* 'posteriority'
vaṭakkee	'north'	from	*vaṭakku* 'north' + clitic *-ee*
veḷiyee	'outside'	from	*veḷi* 'exteriority' + clitic *-ee*

ii) noun forms inflected for locative case

iṭaiyil	'in the middle of'	from	*iṭai* 'center' + locative case suffix *-il*
naṭuvil	'in the middle of'	from	*naṭu* 'center' + locative case suffix *-il*

iii) verbal participle forms

paarttu	'deliberately'	from	*paar* 'see'
pinti	'after'	from	*pintu* 'be behind'
munti	'before'	from	*muntu* 'precede'

Apart from the above word forms a number of other noun forms occur with adverbial function. They contain the bound demonstrative and interrogative determiners *a-*, *i-*, and *e-* or the word initial demonstrative and interrogative vowels. Examples:

i-p·paṭi 'this way'
a-p·paṭi 'that way'
e-p·paṭi 'which way, how'

i-p·pootu 'this time, now'
a-p·pootu 'that time, there'
e-p·pootu 'which time, when'

iṅku 'this place, here'
aṅku 'that place, there'
eṅku 'which place, where'

in̲r̲u 'this day, today'
an̲r̲u 'that day'
en̲r̲u 'which day'

Even though these word forms are generally assigned to the category of adverbs, it is not clear whether they should be so. There are examples where these word forms do not function as adverbials. For example, the following verbless sentence seems to be an occurrence of the NP - NP equational sentence type in which *ippootu* 'this time' occurs as the subject NP.

(301) *ippootu nalla neeram*
this time good time
'This time (now) is a good time.'

This suggests that Tamil has a set of word forms containing the demonstrative and interrogative morphs ***a***, ***i***, and ***e*** either as bound determiner or word initial vowel, which occur as nominals. As such they do, however, not occur with all nominal functions, e.g., object function.

2.33
Sentential adverbs
A number of inflected noun and verb forms are syntactically reanalyzed to sentential adverbs or adverbial connectives. Hereby, they occur in a pre-sentential position and express the semantic relation between two sentences, e.g. cause, contrast, etc. For example, contrast can be expressed by:

appaṭiyum	'nevertheless'	from	demonstrative stem *a-* + *paṭi* 'way' + inclusive clitic *-um*
aan̲aal	'but, however'	from	*aaku* 'become + conditional suffix *-n·aal*
iruntaalum	'however'	from	*iru* 'be' + conditional suffix *-nt·aal* + concessive clitic *-um*
etukkum	'anyhow'	from	*etu* 'which' + dative case suffix *-kku* + inclusive clitic *-um*

The semantic relation of cause can be expressed by the following two word forms:

ataṉaal	'therefore'	from	*atu* 'it' + euphonic increment *-an̲* + instrumental case suffix *-aal*
aakaiyaal	'therefore'	from	irregular verbal noun form of *aaku* 'become + instrumental case suffix *-aal*

Example:

(302) *naan̲ kumaar-iṭam kaṭan̲ keeṭ-ṭ-een̲.*
I Kumar-loc loan ask-pst-1s
[*een̲en̲r̲aal*] *en̲ campaḷam in̲num var-a·v-ill-ai.*
because I(obl) salary still come-inf-be not-3pln
[*aan̲aal*] *kumaar en̲n̲-iṭam on̲r̲um koṭu·kk-a·v-ill-ai*
however Kumar I-loc anything give-inf-be not-3pln
[*etukkum*] *niiṅkaḷ avan̲-ai·k keeṭ·k-al-aam*
anyhow you(pl) he-acc ask-nom-become+fu+3sn
'I asked Kumar for a loan because my salary has still not come. However, he didn't give me anything. Anyhow, you can ask him.'

Noun + *-aaka* constructions
2.34
The infinitive and also the verbal participle form of the verb *aaku* 'become', that is *aaka* and *aay*, respectively, occur as bound forms

added to nouns in Modern Tamil. When *-aaka/-aay* are suffixed to quality nouns, adverbials, which are translatable by adverbs in English, are formed. Example:

(303) a. *kutirai veekam-aaka/-aay ooṭu-kiṟ-atu*
horse speed-adv run-pres-3sn
'The horse is running fast.'

b. *peṇ aẓak-aaka·p/-aay paaṭu-kiṟ-aaḷ*
girl beauty-adv sing-pres-3sf
'The girl is singing beautifully.'

For this reason, the grammatical literature has analyzed the suffixation of *-aaka/-aay* to nouns as a derivational process. The suffix *-aaka/-aay* has been regarded as an adverbial suffix, which forms a derived adverb from a noun. However, the categorical status of *-aaka/-aay* as a derivational suffix is far from being established, nor is its adverbializing function in all the cases of its occurrences. Already Annamalai (1968) notes many occurrences of the suffix *-aaka/-aay* with a noun which cannot be analyzed as manner adverbials. As the discussion in the subsequent sections shows, the suffix *-aaka/-aay* is not restricted to be attached to quality nouns and to form manner adverbials. It can be added to almost any noun and the resulting construction does not always function as an adverbial. In the following we will present in detail the various functions of the suffix *-aaka/-aay* in the various contexts it occurs and, thereafter, return to the question of the categorical status of this suffix. In the examples we will use only the suffix *-aaka* and not its variant form *-aay*. For lack of an appropriate term at the moment, we will retain the term adverbializing suffix (adv) in the morphological gloss.

2.35
Manner

As shown above, one of the functions of the suffix *-aaka* is to express manner. Note that in some cases, that is with nouns of emotion, the same function is expressed by the sociative case suffix *-ooṭu*. Example:

(304) *kumaar aattiram-aaka·p/ aattira-tt-ooṭu peec-iṉ-aaṉ*
Kumar anger-adv anger-obl-soc talk-pst-3sm
'Kumar talked angrily.'

2.36
Role

The suffix *-aaka* can specify role as expressed by 'as' in English. Examples:

(305) *ippootu uṉ mutalaaḷi·y-aaka·p peec-a·v-ill-ai*
now you(obl) boss-adv talk-inf-be not-3pln
uṉ appaa·v-aaka·p peecu-kiṟ-eeṉ
you(obl) father-adv talk-pres-1s
'I'm speaking now not as your boss, but as your father.'

(306) *kumaar raajaa·v-aaka·p piṟa-nt-aar*
Kumar king-adv be born-pst-3sh
'Kumar was born as a king.'

2.37
Result (of change of state)

The suffix *-aaka* can express the concept of result, that is, it marks a noun as that into which something grows, changes, or is made. In this case *-aaka* corresponds to 'into' in English. Examples:

(307) *kumaar paittiyakkaaraṉ-aaka maaṟ-i-viṭ-ṭ-aaṉ*
Kumar madman-adv change-vbp-leave-pst-3sm
'Kumar changed into a madman.'

(308) *it-ai reṇṭ-aaka veṭṭu*
this-acc two-adv cut
'Cut these into two.'

(309) *kumaar taṇṇiir-ai ais-aaka aakk-iṉ-aaṉ*
Kumar water-acc ice-adv make-pst-3sm
'Kumar made water into ice.'

2.38
Comparison

The suffix *-aaka* can express the concept of comparison corresponding to 'like' in English, as otherwise expressed by the postposition *poola*. Examples:

(310) *oru maatam oru nimiṣam-aaka·p pooy-ir-ṟu*
a month a minute-adv go-pst-3sn
'A month passed like a minute.'

(311) *kumaar peṭṭi·p paamp-aaka aṭaṅk-in-aan*
Kumar box snake-adv get controlled-pst-3sm
'Kumar calmed down like a charmed snake.'

2.39
Indefinite location

When added to a restricted number of time and place nouns, the suffix *-aaka* expresses indefinite location in time or space. The locative case suffix *-il*, on the other hand, would express definite location. Examples:

(312) *kumaar caayaṅkaalam-aaka·p pooy-viṭ·ṭ-aan*
Kumar evening-adv go+vbp-leave-pst-3sm
'Kumar left some time in the evening.'

(313) *kumaar katavu ooram-aaka uṭkaar-nt-aan*
Kumar door edge-adv sit-pst-3sm
'Kumar was sitting somewhere near the door.'

2.40
Comitative

The suffix *-aaka* can express the comitative function, as otherwise expressed by the sociative case suffix *-ooṭu*. However, there is the constraint that with this function the suffix *-aaka* can only be attached to a noun co-ordination with *-um*. Example:

(314) *kumaar pensil-um pustakam-um-aaka va-nt-aan*
Kumar pencil-co book-co-adv come-pst-3sm
'Kumar came with pencil and book.'

2.41
Purpose

The suffix *-aaka* expresses also the concept of purpose. This occurs, however, only in the context of a restricted number of verbs, e.g. *poo* 'go'. In comparison with the dative case suffix, the suffix *-aaka* expresses less definiteness. Example:

(315) *kumaar oru veelai·y-aaka·p poo-n-aan*
Kumar a work-adv go-pst-3sm
'Kumar went for some work.'

2.42 Duration of time

When attached to a time noun, the suffix *-aaka* expresses duration of time if a period of time beginning in the past continues at the time of speaking. It follows that the verb of the sentence must be always inflected for present tense. Here *-aaka* corresponds to the preposition 'for' in English. Examples:

(316) *matraas-il naaṅku varuṣam-aaka iru-kkir-een*
Madras-loc four year-adv be-pres-1s
'(I) have been in Madras for four years.'

(317) *kumaar iṅkee pattu maatam-aaka veelai cey-kir-aan*
Kumar here ten months-adv work do-pres-3sm
'Kumar has been working here for ten months.'

2.43
Self Performance

The subject NP can occur a second time in the sentence, together with the suffix *-aaka*. In this case, the suffix *-aaka* expresses that the subject performs the action himself and on his own will. Hereby the subject NP is usually deleted and only the reduplicated subject NP with *-aaka* will occur overtly. See the following examples:

(318) *(naan) naan-aaka inta·k kaṭita-tt-ai eẓut-in-een*
I I-adv this letter-obl-acc write-pst-1s
'I wrote this letter by myself.'

(319) *(avan) avan-aaka anta viiṭ·ṭ-ai·k kaṭṭ-in-aan*
he he-adv that house build-pst-3sm
'He built that house by himself.'

2.44
Quantity

When the subject NP, as in (320) and (321), or the object NP, as in (322), is marked with the suffix *-aaka*, the concept of quantity is expressed, e.g.

(320) *iraamesvara-tt-il ayyar-kaḷ-aaka iru-kkiṟ-aarkaḷ*
Rameswaram-obl-loc brahmin-pl-adv be-pres-3pl
'There are a lot of brahmins in Rameswaram.'

(321) *aṅkee viiṭ-aaka iru-kkiṉṟ-aṉ-a*
there house-adv be-pres-euph-3pln
'There are a lot of houses.'

(322) *kumaar kaappi·y-aaka·k kuṭi-kkiṟ-aaṉ*
Kumar coffee-adv drink-pres-3sm
'Kumar drinks a lot of coffee.'

2.45
Gradualness
When the suffix *-aaka* is added to a noun modified by *ovvoru* 'each' or to the reduplicated numeral noun *oṉṟu* 'each one', the concept of gradual action is expressed. Examples:

(323) *kumaar ovvoru coll-aaka·c coṉ-ṉ-aaṉ*
Kumar each word-adv say-pst-3sm
'Kumar said each word one by one.'

(324) *kumaar iṭli oṉṟu oṉṟ-aaka·c caappiṭ·ṭ-aaṉ*
Kumar Idli one one-adv eat-pst-3sm
'Kumar ate Idlis one by one.'

2.46
Momentariness
In the construction NP dative + NP nominative + verb *iru* 'be'/ *il* 'be not', to be discussed under 3.7, the nominative case NP can take the suffix *-aaka* when consisting of a noun denoting an emotion or body feeling. In this case momentary existence is expressed. Example:

(325) *kumaar-ukku aattiram-aaka iru-kkiṟ-atu*
Kumar-dat anger-adv be-pres-3sn
'Kumar is now angry.'

2.47
Repetition
When the suffix *-aaka* is attached to the co-ordinated structure of two

dative case NPs conjoined by *-um*, the concept of repetition of the action of the verb (usually one of motion) is expressed. Examples:

(326) *kumaar vaacal-ukk-um teru·v-ukk-um-aaka naṭa-nt-aaṉ*
Kumar entrance-dat-co street-dat-co-adv walk-pst-3sm
'Kumar walked back and forth between the entrance and the road.'

(327) *paiyaṉ meelmaaṭi-kk-um kiiḻmaaṭi-kk-um-aaka*
boy second floor-dat-co first floor-dat-co-adv
ooṭ-iṉ-aaṉ
run-pst-3sm
'The boy was running up and down between the first and second floor.'

2.48
Alternation
Two verbal noun clauses conjoined with *-um* and followed by the suffix *-aaka* occur as manner adverbial before a finite verb. In this case the two actions expressed by the verbal noun clause co-ordination are simultaneous with the one of the finite verb. If the two verbal noun forms are identical, the suffix *-aaka* expresses also that the two actions occur alternately. Example:

(328) *kumaar eṉṉ-ai·p paar-kkiṟ-at-um avaḷ-ai·p*
Kumar I-acc see-pres-nom-co she-acc
paar-kkiṟ-at-um-aaka iru-nt-aaṉ
see-pres-nom-co-adv be-pst-3sm
'Kumar was looking alternately at me at and her.'

2.49
Focus
As shown under 2.29, adjectives occur after the determiner or quantifier and before the head noun, e.g., *iraṇṭu ciṟiya aappiḷ* 'two small apples'. For the sake of emphasis, the adjective can be moved to front position. Hereby the adjective is nominalized and the suffix *-aaka* is added to express focus. Example:

(329) *ciṟiya-t-aaka iraṇṭu aappiḷ vaaṅku*
small-nom-adv two apple buy
'Buy two small apples.'

2.50
Summary

We started the discussion of the suffix *-aaka* with those cases in which it was added to a noun to form a manner adverbial. For this reason, the suffix *-aaka* has generally been referred to as adverbializing suffix. However, as the subsequent illustration of the various functions of the suffix *-aaka* has shown, its function is far from being restricted to form manner adverbials. As we have seen under 2.35 to 2.42, in many instances the suffix *-aaka* has a case marker function. Recall that one occurrence of the suffix *-aaka* is recognized as bound postposition of the benefactice case (c.f. 1.17). Even though in these cases the noun + *-aaka* construction functions syntactically always as an adverbial, there is no reason to call the suffix *-aaka* with its various semantic functions of manner, role, result, comparison, etc., adverbial suffix in the same way as there is no reason to call the instrumental case suffix *-aal* an adverbial suffix just because a noun + *-aa̱l* construction functions syntactically always as adverbial. Moreover, as we have seen in later cases, a noun or noun phrase + *-aaka* does not always function as adverbial. Remember 2.43 and 2.44 where the suffix *-aaka* is added to noun phrases which have subject and object function. In these cases the suffix *-aaka* functions like a clitic. Note in this context that there is another form of the verb *aaku*—the future neuter participial noun form *aavatu*, which has been grammaticalized to a clitic. Depending on the context, the suffix *-aaka* may, therefore, be analyzed categorically as a bound postposition or a clitic.

2.51
Quantifiers

A closed group of word forms occur as quantifiers:

car̲r̲u	'a little'		
muẕu	'whole'		
koñcam	'a little'	from	*koñcam* 'smallness'
ittan̲ai	'this many'	from	demonstrative determiner *i-* + *tan̲ai* 'number'
attan̲ai	'that many'	from	demonstrative determiner *a-* + *tan̲ai* 'number'
ettan̲ai	'how many'	from	interrogative determiner *e-* + *tan̲ai* 'number'
ivvaḷavu	'this much'	from	demonstrative determiner *i-* + *aḷavu* 'extent'
avvaḷavu	'that much'	from	demonstrative **determiner** *a-* + *aḷavu* **'extent'**
evvaḷavu	'that much'	from	interrogative **determiner** *e-* + *aḷavu* 'extent'
nirampa	'much'	from	*nirampu* 'be full' + infinitive suffix *-a*
nir̲aiya	'much, many'	from	*nir̲ai* 'be full' + infinitive suffix *-a*
mikavum	'much'	from	*miku* 'increase' + infinitive suffix *-a* + inclusive clitic *-um*

All of the above quantifiers can occur as noun modifiers. However, as such their distribution is not identical. The quantifier *muẕu* 'whole, one of the few adjectival roots of Old Tamil still occurring in Modern Tamil, precedes always the head noun immediately. Example:

(330) *anta muẕu viiṭu*
that whole house
'that whole house'

The quantifier *car̲r̲u* is a remnant of the Old Tamil adverbial roots in Modern Tamil. As noun modifier it is restricted to the occurrence before time nouns only. Example:

(331) *car̲r̲u neeram*
a little time
'a little time'

The quantifier *mikavum* 'much' occurs as noun modifier only before nouns followed by the suffix *-aaka* (332) or before nouns which occur as argument of a closed set of adjectival participles such as *-aan̲a*, *illaata*, *-uṭaiya*, etc.(333):

(332) *avaḷ mikavum aẕak-aaka·p paaṭ-in̲-aaḷ*
she much beauty-adv sing-pst-3sf
'She sang very beautifully (with much beauty).'

(333) *mikavum veḷiccam illaata viiṭu*
much light be not-neg-adj house
'a house without much light'

All other quantifiers occur as noun modifier before adjectives, that is in the following slot: ___ Adj N. Example:

(334) *niraiya/ koñcam/ ittanai/ ivvaḷavu periya viiṭu*
many a few this many this many big house
'many/a few/this many big houses'

All quantifiers, except *carru* 'a little' and *mikavum* 'much', can be transposed over the head noun when they occur as noun modifier. This is discussed in detail under 5.8. Here only one example will be given:

(335) *kumaar taṇṇiir ivvaḷavu caappiṭ·ṭ-aan*
Kumar water this much eat-pst-3sm
'Kumar drank this much water.'

With the exception of *muẓu* 'whole', *ittanai* 'this many', *attanai* 'that many', *ettanai* 'how many', and *mikavum* 'much', all quantifiers occur also as verb modifier in pre-verbal position. Example:

(336) a. *kumaar carru tuuṅk-in-aan*
Kumar a little sleep-pst-3sm
'Kumar slept a little.'

b. *kumaar niraiya/ koñcam/ ivvaḷavu caappiṭ·ṭ-aan*
Kumar much a little this much eat-pst-3sm
'Kumar was eating much/a little/this much.'

Finally, the quantifiers *koñcam* 'a little', *ivvaḷavu* 'this much', *avvaḷavu* 'that much', *evvaḷavu* 'how much', *nirampa* 'much', and *mikavum* 'much' can also occur as adjective modifier to form with the following adjective an adjective phrase (Adj P). Examples:

(337) a. [$_{AdjP}$ *koñcal ivvaḷavu ciriya*] *viiṭu*
a little this much small house
'a little bit/ such a small house'

b. [$_{Adj\ P}$ *nirampa/ mikavum nalla*] *paiyan*
much much nice boy
'a very nice boy'

2.52
Determiners
There are two determiners in Modern Tamil. Both are demonstratives, which occur in pre-nominal position. They specify or identify the referent

of a noun phrase by describing the referent's proximity to the speaker. The proximate demonstrative determiner is *inta* 'this, these' and the remote demonstrative determiner is *anta* 'that, those'. Examples:

(338) *inta·p paiyan*
this boy
'this boy'

(339) *anta viiṭu-kaḷ*
those house-pl
'those houses'

2.53
Conjunctions
Co-ordination in Tamil is mainly realized by the use of clitics. This is discussed in detail under 4.1-6. However, there are also a number of verb forms which are syntactically reanalyzed to co-ordinating conjunction words:

aanaal	'but'	conditional form of *aaku* 'become'
allatu	'or'	nominalized form of *al* 'be not'
illaiyenraal	'or'	*ill-ai* 'be not-3pln' + conditional form of *en* 'say'

These conjunctions are used to co-ordinate, for example, two adjectives (340), or two nouns (341):

(340) *ciriya aanaal nalla peṇ*
small but nice girl
'a small but nice girl'

(341) *kumaar allatu/illaiyenraal raajaa*
Kumar or Raja
'Kumar or Raja'

Complementation or subordination in Tamil is realized by various devices discussed in detail in chapter four, e.g., non-finite and nominalized verb forms, clitics, and a number of grammaticalized verb and noun forms. However, the respective verb and noun forms behave syntactically like verbs and nouns. They are, therefore, unlike the word form *aanaal*, for example,—see (340), which does not behave like a conditional and is

thus categorically reanalyzed to a co-ordinating conjunction. Since these complementizing verb and noun forms display syntactic properties of verbs and nouns, they are entitled to be analyzed categorically as (grammatical) verbs and nouns and not as subordinating conjunctions, for example.

Clitics

2.54

Clitics are bound forms which are affixed to a word not due to a morphological process, but due to some phonological rules of the grammar. They are thus not representations of inflectional or derivational categories and not restricted to the occurrence with words of one particular word class only, as inflectional and derivational suffixes are. All clitics in Tamil are post-clitics. Clitics can be suffixed to words or heads of all syntactic categories, except adjectivals and a number of nominals functioning as noun modifier. When both derivational and inflectional suffixes and clitics are added to a stem, very elaborated word forms can be constructed in Tamil:

(342) $[_N[_V$ *paṭi*] *-ppu*] *-kk-aaka·t-taan̲-aa*
study -nom -dat-ben-emph-Q
'just for the sake of study?'

In the above example the verbal stem *paṭi* is followed by a derivational suffix—the nominalizing suffix *-ppu*, then an inflectional suffix—the dative case suffix *-kku*—is added, followed by the bound postposition *-aaka*, expressing benefactive case. Finally two clitics are added: the emphatic clitic *-taan̲* and the interrogative clitic *-aa*.

A given clitic with a specific phonemic shape, e.g. *-um*, has various semantic functions and it is, therefore, both possibe to postulate a number of semantically different clitics, which are homophonous, or one phonologically defined clitic, which has several semantic functions according to context. In the present description we will take the latter option. The following is a list of clitics in Modern Tamil:

-um
-oo
-ee
-taan̲
-aa

In addition to these genuine clitics, a number of noun and word forms have been cliticized:

-aavatu	neuter participial noun of *aaku* 'become'
-aam	phonologically reduced form of *aakum*, finite verb form of *aaku* 'become' inflected for future tense and third person, neuter gender
-kuuṭa	infinitive form of *kuuṭu* 'join'
-maṭṭum	noun *maṭṭu* 'limit' + clitic *-um*

Most of these clitics have been analyzed in detail in Arokianathan (1981). In the following the various semantic functions of these clitics will be illustrated, and then a few occurrence restrictions will be given.

-um

2.55

The clitic *-um* occurs with all sentence constituents except noun modifiers. Moreover, it cannot occur sentence-finally. *-um* occurs as (i) inclusive, (ii) all-inclusive, (iii) co-ordinative, (iv) concessive, and (v) immediacy clitic.

2.56

Inclusive sense

The clitic *-um* can be added to a sentence constituent to express the sense of inclusion or addition 'also'. Examples:

(343) a. *kumaar-um va-nt-aan̲*
Kumar-incl come-pst-3sm
'Kumar also came.'

b. *raajaa neer̲r̲-um va-nt-aan̲*
Raja yesterday-incl come-pst-3sm
'Raja came yesterday also.'

In the inclusive sense *-um* can be substituted by *kuuṭa*, which, however, has the additional aspect of unexpectedness of the speaker, as expressed by 'even', e.g.

(344) *kumaar-kuuṭa va-nt-aan̲*
Kumar-incl come-pst-3sm
'Even Kumar came.'

2.57
All-inclusive sense
When *-um* is added to a noun modified by a numeral, it expresses an all-inclusive sense (Arokianathan 1981). Example:

(345) *muun̲r̲u penpiḷḷai-kaḷ-um va-nt-aarkaḷ*
three girl-pl-incl come-pst-3pl
'All the three girls came.'

The clitic *-um* has also an all-inclusive sense when it is added to an argument NP in a negative sentence. Example:

(346) *kumaar oru paicaa·v-um koṭu·kk-a·v-ill-ai*
Kumar a paisa-incl give-inf-be not-3pln
'Kumar didn't give any paisa.'

The clitic *-um* can be added to any *e-* interrogative word—except *een̲* 'why', *eppaṭipaṭṭa* 'what sort of', *ettan̲aiyaavatu* 'how manieth' and *enta* 'which'—to transform the interrogative expression, which is referentially undetermined, into a referential expression with general or all-inclusive reference. In this case *-um* has an all-inclusive quantifier function 'any'. The following expressions have an all-inclusive reference:

evan̲-um	'any, every male person'
evaḷ-um	'any, every female person'
etu·v-um	'anything, everything'
yaar-um	'anyone, everyone'
eṅkee·y-um	'anywhere, everywhere'
eppoot-um	'anytime, always'
eppaṭi·y-um	'any way'
ettan̲ai·y-um	'any number'
evvaḷav-um	'any amount'
enta N *-um*	'any' N

Examples:

(347) a. *yaar-um varu-v-aarkaḷ*
who-incl come-fu-3pl
'Everyone will come.'

b. *kumaar eṅkee·y-um pook-a·v-ill-ai*
Kumar where-incl go-inf-be not-3pln
'Kumar didn't go anywhere.'

2.58
'And' co-ordination
The clitic *-um* occurs as 'and' co-ordinator to conjoin two (or more) sentence constituents. Hereby the clitic *-um* is added to each constituent conjoined. This is discussed in detail under 4.2. Only one example will be given here.

(348) *kumaar-um raajaa·v-um va-nt-aarkaḷ*
Kumar-co Raja-co come-pst-3pl
'Kumar and Raja came.'

2.59
Concessive
The clitic *-um* added to the verbal participle form of the verb expresses concession of fact—see 4.25. Example:

(349) *kumaar va-nt-um enn̲-iṭam peec-a·v-ill-ai*
Kumar come-vbp-conc I-loc talk-inf-be not-3pln
'Although Kumar came, he didn't talk to me.'

When *-um* is added to the conditional form of the verb, it expresses together with the conditional suffix concession of supposition or fact, depending on the tense of the verb in the main clause. For details see 4.35. Here only one example will be given.

(350) *kumaar iṅkee va-nt·aal-um naan̲ avan̲-iṭam*
Kumar here come-cond-conc I he-loc
peec-a-maaṭṭ-een̲
talk-inf-will-1s
'Even if Kumar comes here, I won't talk with him.'

2.60
Immediacy
When *-um* is added to the infinitive form of the verb, the temporal relation of immediacy 'as soon as' is expressed—see 4.17. Example:

(351) *kumaar enn̲-ai·p paar·kk-a·v-um ciri-tt-aan̲*
Kumar I-acc see-inf-imm laugh-pst-3sm
'As soon as Kumar saw me, he laughed.'

-oo

2.61

The clitic *-oo* occurs with all sentence constituents except noun modifiers other than numerals.

2.62

Doubt

When added to a simple sentence, the clitic *-oo* expresses the speaker's uncertainty with regard to the proposition of the sentence, that is, it transforms a declarative statement into a dubitative statement. Example:

(352) *kumaar mar̲upaṭiyum jeey-kkir̲-aan̲-oo*
Kumar again win-pres-3sm-dub
'I doubt whether Kumar will win again.'

When added to an *e-* interrogative word question, the dubitative clitic *-oo* transforms a question into a doubtful statement, e.g.

(353) *kumaar eppootu varu-v-aan̲-oo*
Kumar when come-fu-3sm-dub
'I wonder when Kumar comes.'

2.63

Indefiniteness

The clitic *-oo* can be added to any *e-* interrogative word—except *een̲* 'why', *eppaṭippaṭṭa* 'what sort of', *ettan̲aiyaavatu* 'how manieth', and *enta* 'which'—to transform the interrogative expression, which is referentially undetermined, into an indefinite referential expression. In this case *-oo* has the indefinite quantifier function 'some'. The following expressions have indefinite reference.

evan̲-oo	'some male person'
evaḷ-oo	'some female person'
etu·v-oo	'something'
yaar-oo	'somone'

eṅkee·y-oo	'somewhere'
eppoot-oo	'sometime'
eppaṭi·y-oo	'somehow'
ettan̲ai·y-oo	'some number'
evvaḷav-oo	'some amount'

Examples:

(354) a. *neer̲r̲u yaar-oo uṅkaḷ-ai·k kuuppiṭ·ṭ-aan̲*
yesterday who-ind you(pl)-acc call-pst-3sm
'Someone called you yesterday.'

b. *kumaar eṅkee·y-oo pooy-viṭ·ṭ-aan̲*
Kumar where-ind go+vbp-leave-pst-3sm
'Kumar has gone somewhere.'

c. *kumaar evvaḷav-oo keeṭ-kir̲-aan̲*
Kumar how much-ind ask-pres-3sm
'Kumar asks some amount.'

2.64

Topic/contrast

When added to the first constituent of a sentence, the clitic *-oo* topicalizes the respective element and has at the same time contrastive function (Paramasivam 1983). It contrasts the topicalized entity from the entities mentioned in the previous sentence like 'as for, whereas' in English, e.g.

(355) *elloorum ciri-tt-aarkaḷ. kumaar-oo maun̲am-aaka iru-nt-aan̲*
everyone laugh-pst-3pl Kumar-top silence-adv be-pst-3sm
'All were laughing, whereas Kumar was silent.'

2.65

'Or' co-ordination

The clitic *-oo* occurs as 'or' co-ordinator to conjoin two or more sentence constituents. Hereby, the suffix *-oo* is added to each constituent conjoined. This is discussed in detail under 4.4. Only one example will be given here.

(356) *kumaar-oo raajaa·v-oo varu-v-aarkaḷ*
Kumar-co Raja-co come-fu-3pl
'Kumar or Raja will come.'

2.66
Complementation
The clitic *-oo* functions as complementizing clitic in two constructions. When added to a finite clause with a verb inflected for past tense, *-oo* adjoins that clause to a finite clause and expresses the concept of condition 'if'. This is discussed in detail under 4.85. See here only one example:

(357) *naan̲ appaa·v-iṭam con̲-n̲-een̲-oo avar koopappaṭu-v-aar*
I father-loc say-pst-1s-comp he get angry-fu-3sh
'If I tell (it) father, he will get angry.'

When *-oo* occurs at the end of a clause containing an *e-* interrogative expression, except *een̲* 'why', it links the respective clause as pre-relative expression, which must consist of the corresponding clause to a head noun phrase, which must consist of the corresponding *a-* demonstrative expression. For a detailed discussion see 4.86. One example will be given here for illustration:

(358) *evan̲ neer̲r̲u va-nt-aan̲-oo avan̲*
which male person yesterday come-pst-3sm-comp he
en̲ tampi
I(obl) brother
'He who came yesterday was my brother.'

-ee
2.67
The clitic *-ee* occurs with all sentence constituents, except noun modifiers other than numerals.

2.68
Emphasis
The clitic *-ee* occurs as emphatic clitic, that is with the function of focusing on the constituent it is attached to (Arokianathan 1981). Examples:

(359) a. *kumaar ippootu·v-ee poo-kir̲-aan̲*
Kumar now-emph go-pres-3sm
'Just now Kumar is going.'

b. *avarkaḷ en̲n̲-ai·y-ee kuuppiṭu-kir̲-aarkaḷ*
they I-acc-emph call-pres-3pl
'They are calling just me.'

c. *kumaar neer̲r̲u iṅkee va-nt-aan̲-ee*
Kumar yesterday here come-pst-3sm-emph
'Kumar did come here yesterday.'

Note the occurrence of the emphatic clitic *-ee* added to the infinitive form of a verb or modal verb, which is then followed by the reduplicated verb or modal verb in negative form. In the context of the negative operator, *-ee* expresses together with the reduplication absolute impossibility of the occurrence of the action, event, or state. Examples:

(360) a. *kumaar var-a·v-ee var-a-maaṭṭ-aan̲*
Kumar come-inf-emph come-inf-will-3sm
'Kumar just won't come.'

b. *ivvaḷavu naan̲ caappiṭ-a muṭi·y-a·v-ee muṭi·y-aa-tu*
this much I eat-inf end-inf-emph end-neg-3sn
'I can't eat this much at all.'

2.69
Self-performance
The clitic *-ee* occurs with the reduplicated subject NP to express that the subject performs an action himself. As self-performance marker *-ee* can often be substituted by the suffix *-aaka*—see 2.43. Furthermore, the subject NP can be deleted, leaving only the reduplicated subject NP + *-ee* on surface structure. Example:

(361) (*naan̲*) *naan̲-ee aṅkee poo-n̲-een̲*
I I-emph there go-pst-1s
'I myself went there.'

2.70
Complementation
The clitic *-ee* functions as complementizing clitic in the following two constructions.

A finite clause can be embedded with *-ee* into a postpositional phrase as complement to the postposition *tavira* 'except'—see 4.84 and the following example:

(362) *kumaar pakal puuravum tuuṅk-in̲-aan̲-ee tavira*
Kumar day whole sleep-pst-3sm-comp except
veer̲u on̲r̲um cey·y-a·v-ill-ai
else anything do-inf-be not-3pln
'Except sleeping the whole day, Kumar didn't do anything.'

A finite clause can also be embedded with the clitic *-ee* as pre-relative or pre-appositive clause before a head noun phrase consisting of an *a*-demonstrative expression. See 4.87 for discussion and the following example:

(363) *naan̲ neer̲r̲u paar-tt-een̲-ee anta·p paṭam mikavum*
I yesterday see-pst-1s-comp that movie very
nan̲r̲-aaka iru-nt-atu
goodness-adv be-pst-3sn
'The movie I saw yesterday, you know, was very nice.'

2.71
-taan̲
The clitic *-taan̲* occurs with all constituents, except noun modifiers. It functions as emphatic clitic. Unlike the clitic *-ee*, which focuses the constituent to which it is attached by singling out one entity of a set of entities, *-taan̲* identifies an entity from a presupposed set of entities (Arokianathan 1981). With this function *-taan̲* can also occur with subject NPs—something which *-ee* is not able to do. Examples:

(364) a. *kumaar-taan̲ neer̲r̲u va-nt-aan̲*
Kumar-emph yesterday come-pst-3sm
'It was Kumar who came yesterday.'

b. *kumaar neer̲r̲u-taan̲ va-nt-aan̲*
Kumar yesterday-emph come-pst-3sm
'It was yesterday that Kumar came.'

For further occurrences of *-taan̲* see the construction conditional clause + *-taan̲*, discussed under 4.32 and the cleft sentence constructions, discussed under 5.6. Finally, when *taan̲* is followed by *-ee*, it forms a tag question marker. Example:

(365) *kumaar uṅkaḷ appaa-taan̲-ee*
Kumar you(pl+obl) father-emph-emph
'Kumar is your father, isn't he.'

2.72
-aa
The clitic *-aa* functions as interrogative marker in yes-no questions. This is discussed in detail under 3.21.

2.73
-maṭṭum
The noun *maṭṭu* 'limit', together with the clitic *-um*, is grammaticalized to a clitic with the restrictive function (Arokianathan 1981). It occurs with all sentence constituents except noun modifiers. However, it does not occur in sentence final position. *-maṭṭum* restricts a set of entities to the one which is expressed by the constituent marked. Examples:

(366) a. *kumaar-maṭṭum va-nt-aan̲*
Kumar-only come-pst-3sm
'Only Kumar came.'

b. *kumaar in̲r̲u-maṭṭum iṅkee iru-kkir̲-aan̲*
Kumar today-only here be-pres-3sm
'Kumar is here only today.'

2.74
-kuuṭa
The verb *kuuṭu* 'join' functions with its infinitive form *kuuṭ-a* as inclusive clitic, like *-um*. In contrast to *-um*, it has, however, the additional notion of unexpectedness. Example:

(367) *kumaar in̲r̲u-kuuṭa va-nt-aan̲*
Kumar today-incl come-pst-3sm
'Kumar came even today.'

-aavatu

2.75

The verb *aaku* 'become' occurs with its future tense, neuter participial noun form *-aavatu* as clitic. As such it has a variety of functions, described in the following.

2.76

Minimum

When *-aavatu* is added to a noun phrase, it expresses that the respective entity is the minimum of a set of entities the speaker has in mind. Example:

(368) *niiṅkaḷ-aavatu naaḷai var-a veeṇṭ-um*
you(pl)-at east tomorrow come-inf want-fu+3sn
'At least you should come tomorrow.'

2.77

'Or' co-ordination

Like *-oo*, the clitic *-aavatu* functions as 'or' co-ordinator to conjoin two or more constituents to an 'or' co-ordination. Thereby, *-aavatu* is added to each constituent conjoined. See the following example and for more details 4.4.

(369) *ṭii·y-aavatu kaappi·y-aavatu pooṭu*
tea-co coffee-co put
'Make tea or coffee.'

2.78

Non-specific indefiniteness

The clitic *-aavatu* can be added to any *e-* interrogative word—except *ee<u>n</u>* 'why', *eppaṭippaṭṭa* 'what sort of', *etta<u>n</u>aiyaavatu* 'how manieth', and *enta* 'which'—to transform the interrogative expression, which is referentially undetermined, into an expression with non-specific indefinite reference. In this case *-aavatu* has non-specific indefinite quantifier function 'some or other'. See the list of expressions with non-specific indefinite reference.

eva<u>n</u>-aavatu	'some male person or other'
evaḷ-aavatu	'some female person or other'

et-aavatu	'something or other'
yaar-aavatu	'someone or other'
eṅkee·y-aavatu	'somewhere or other'
eppootu·v-aavatu	'sometime or other'
eppaṭi·y-aavatu	'somehow or other'
etta<u>n</u>ai·y-aavatu	'some number or other'
evvaḷav-aavatu	'some amount or other'

Examples:

(370) a. *nee<u>rr</u>u yaar-aavatu va-nt-aarkaḷ-aa*
yesterday who-ind come-pst-3pl-Q
'Did anyone (someone or other) come yesterday?'

b. *eppaṭi·y-aavatu ava<u>n</u> it-ai·c cey-v-aa<u>n</u>*
how-ind he this-acc do-fu-3sm
'In some manner or other he will do it.'

c. *eṅkee·y-aavatu poo*
where-ind go
'Go somewhere or other.'

2.79

Incontingency

When the clitic *-aavatu* is added to a sentence with a nominalized predicate, it expresses the impossibility of the occurrence of what is proposed in the sentence (from the view of the speaker). Example:

(371) *kumaar amerikkaa·v-ukku·p poo-ki<u>r</u>-at-aavatu*
Kumar America-dat go-pres-nom-incontingency
'It is impossible for Kumar to go to America.'

Note that in this construction the nominalized verb is always in present tense and the impossibility of the occurrence of the action or event expressed by the proposition cannot refer to past time. Moreover, *-aavatu* can occur a second or even a third time in this construction when added to a nominal constituent, e.g., the subject NP, to give additional emphasis to the respective constituent. Example:

(372) *naa<u>n</u>-aavatu amerikkaa·v-ukku·p poo-ki<u>r</u>-at-aavatu*
I-incontingency America-dat go-pres-nom-incontingency
'For me it is impossible to go to America.'

2.80
-aam

The verb *aaku* 'become' functions with its form inflected for future tense and third person neuter, that is *aakum*, phonologically reduced to *aam*, as clitic. As such it occurs only at the end of the sentence and is usually referred to as reportive marker. That is, it marks that the respective statement expressed by the sentence is only reported by the speaker, as for example:

(373) *kumaar naaḷai-kku varu-kir̲-aan̲-aam*
Kumar tomorrow-dat come-pres-3sm-supp
'Kumar is said to come tomorrow.'

However, in most cases *-aam* simply indicates that the proposition of the sentence is only assumed by the speaker. Example:

(374) *kumaar-ukku uṭampu cari·y-ill-ai·y-aam*
Kumar-dat body O.K.-be not-3pln-supp
'It seems that Kumar is sick.'

This sentence final clitic may thus be referred to as supposition marker.

2.81
Cooccurrence restrictions

We will conclude the discussion of clitics with a few remarks on their occurrence restrictions.

i) each clitic occurs only once in a clause except the clitics *-um*, *-oo* and *-aavatu*. When these clitics function as co-ordinators, they occur with each element conjoined. Moreover, the clitic *-aavatu* expressing incontingency can occur several times in a clause.

ii) clitics occur only once with their host, that is a sentence constituent or the whole sentence. However, several clitics can cooccur with one host, e.g.

(375) *kumaar-ee-kuuṭa-taan̲ varu-kir̲-aan̲*
Kumar-emph-incl-emph come-pres-3sm
'Kumar himself will also come.'

iii) clitics do not cooccur with noun modifiers, except *-oo* and *-ee*, which can occur with numerals. Example:

(376) *kumaar-ukku iraṇṭ-ee caṭṭai-kaḷ iru-kkir̲-atu*
Kumar-dat two-emph shirt-pl be-pres-3sn
'Kumar has just two shirts.'

iv) the clitics *-um*, *-maṭṭum*, and *-kuuṭa* cannot occur sentence finally. All other clitics can occur in this position. The clitic *-aam* occurs only in sentence-final position.

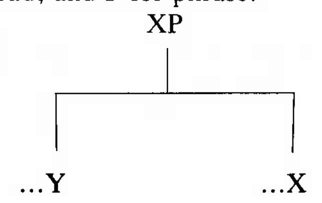
v) all clitics, except *-aam* and *-aavatu*, can occur with the sentence final verb constituent as their host. This is something different from occurring in sentence final position. When clitics occur sentence finally with the sentence as their host, they are attached to the sentence final finite verb and have the whole sentence as their scope. On the other hand, when clitics occur with the verb constituent, that is with the verb as their host, they are affixed to the infinitive form of the verb and then followed by the verb *cey* 'do', which functions here as a dummy verb to carry the tense and person-number-gender suffixes. In this case only the verb is under the scope of the clitic. Example:

(377) *kumaar viiṇai vaaci·kk-a·t-taan̲ cey-t-aan̲*
Kumar Veena play-inf-emph do-pst-3sm
'What Kumar was doing was playing Veena.'

2.82
Head final structures

Of the various lexical categories available in Modern Tamil, the following combine with other syntactic elements to phrasal categories: nouns (N), postpositions (P), adjectives (Adj), adverbs (Adv), and quantifiers (Q). When these categories combine with other co-constituents to form a phrasal category, they occur as head constituent in the final position of the phrasal constituent and their co-constituents—modifiers and complements—do always precede them. This can be represented by the following configuration, where X stands for any of the mentioned lexical categories, e.g. nouns (N), postpositions (P), etc., Y for any co-constituent of the head, and P for phrase:

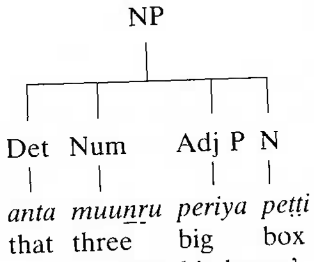
(378)



In the following we will illustrate the various types of phrasal categories.

Noun phrases.
When a noun (N) occurs as head constituent of a noun phrase, it can optionally be modified by pre-nominal modifiers such as determiners (Det), quantifiers (Q), numerals (Num), and adjective phrases (Adj P). See the following example where the head noun *peṭṭi* 'box' occurs with three modifiers to its left side:

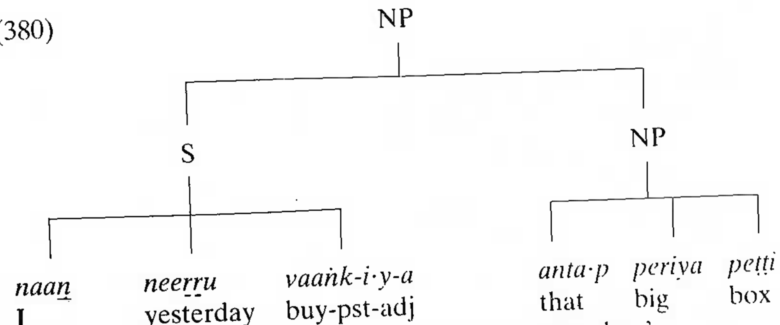
(379)



'these three big boxes'

Noun phrases themselves occur as head constituent of a noun phrase, taking a sentential complement to their left side. See the following example of an adjectival clause interpreted as relative clause, which modifies a noun phrase.

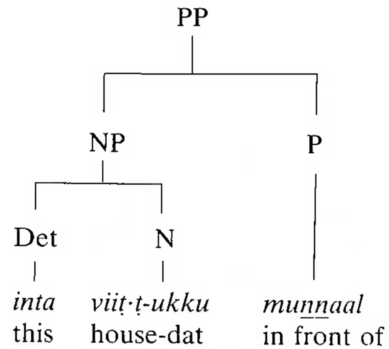
(380)



'The big box which I bought yesterday.'

Postpositional phrases.
When postpositions (P) occur as head constituent of a postpositional phrase, they are obligatorily complemented by a noun phrase to their left side. Example:

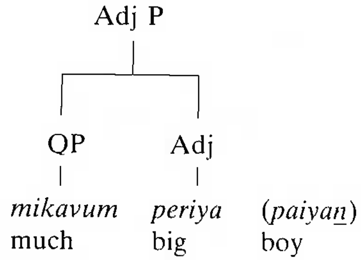
(381)



'in front of this house'

Adjective phrases.
Adjectives (Adj), occurring as head constituents of an adjective phrase (Adj P), can optionally be modified by a preceding quantifier phrase (QP). Example:

(382)



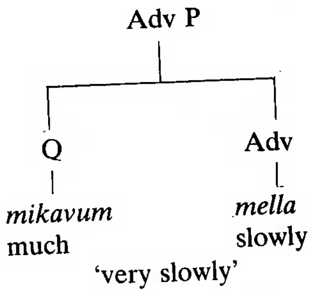
'a very big (boy)'

Adjectives can also be modified by the interrogative word *en̲n̲a* 'what'. Example:

(383) *en̲n̲a nalla paiyan̲*
what nice boy
'what a nice boy'

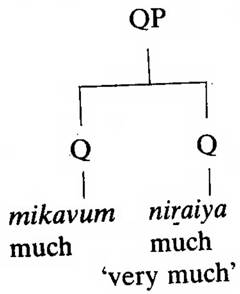
Adverb phrases. Some adverbs (Adv) can occur as head constituent of an adverb phrase (Adv P). For example, the adverb *mella* 'slowly' can optionally be modified by a quantifier (Q) to its left side. Example:

(384)



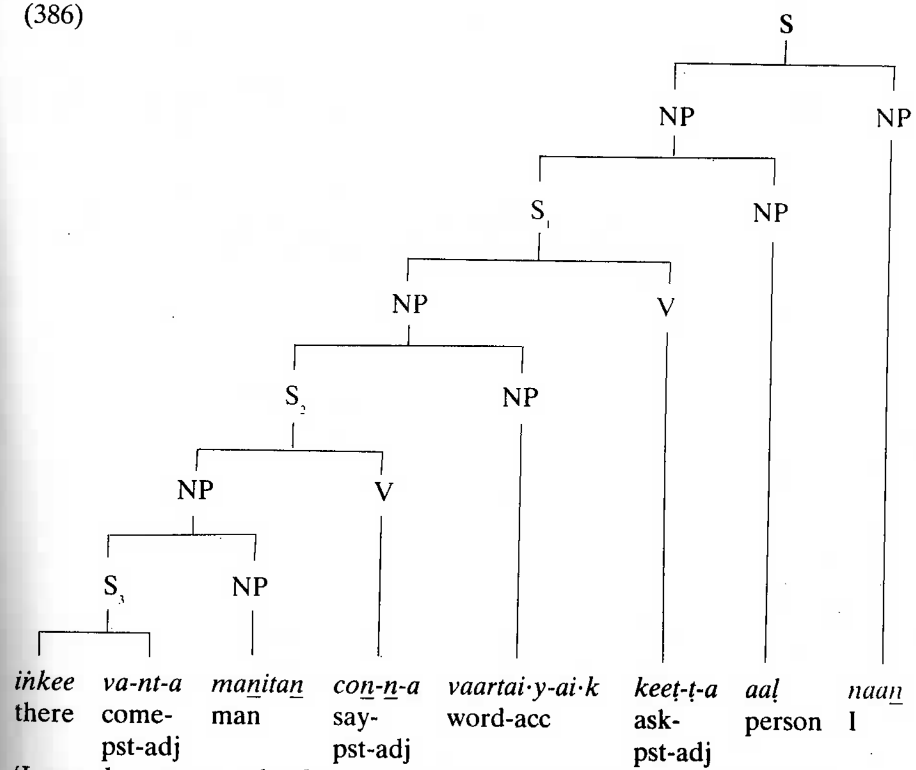
Quantifier phrases.
Quantifiers (Q) can optionally be modified by another quantifier to their left side with intensifier function to form a quantifier phrase (QP). Example:

(385)



Since in Tamil phrasal structures the head occurs always in the final or right-most position, all elaborations of a phrase occur to its left side. Tamil is then a 'left branching' language. This means that if a phrase is extensively elaborated—as in the multi-level elaboration of stacking of relative clauses, embedded clauses branch to the left side. Thus in the following structure, the three clauses embedded into a noun phrase, that is S_1, S_2, and S_3 are left branching clauses:

(386)



'I am the person who heard the words which the man who came yesterday had said.'

Chapter 3
Clause structure

3.0
Introduction

This chapter deals with the structure of clauses in Tamil. The following aspects of Tamil clause structure will be discussed. First, we will show that the verb is not an obligatory element in all clauses and that, therefore, Tamil has a type of verbless clauses. We will then demonstrate that there are sentences without a subject and that Tamil is thus not a subject obligatory language. Regarding word order, we will show that Tamil is a verb final language and that, apart from the sentence final position of the verb, a Tamil clause exhibits to a large extent free word order. Then, the role played by the grammatical function of subject will be discussed. Subsequently, we will deal with compound verb constructions containing an auxiliary verb as second element, which expresses various categories, such as aspect, mood, passive, etc. Finally, we will describe the devices Tamil uses to form negative sentences, which involve either verb inflection, or lexical or auxiliary verbs, and the devices Tamil employs to form interrogative sentences, which are clitics and interrogative pro-forms.

3.1
Verbless clauses

The verb is not an obligatory element in all Tamil clauses. That is to say that the predicate of a clause in Tamil is not always verbal. There are clauses in which the predicate consists of a noun phrase only, without any copula verb. This type of clause is usually referred to as verbless or equational clause. In the general case, a verbless clause consists of two noun phrases unmarked for case, that is in nominative case, as shown by the following structural representation:

(387) $[_s$ NP NP]

This structure is exemplified by the following sentences:

(388) a. *kumaar vakkiil*
Kumar lawyer
'Kumar (is) (a) lawyer.'

b. *paṭippu mukkiyam*
education importance
'Education (is) important.'

c. [*anta·p periya paiyan̲*] [*en̲ makan̲*]
that big boy I(obl) son
'That tall boy (is) my son.'

Semantically, verbless clauses represent an identification or attribution. A non-lexical copula verb like 'be' in English is not generated in Modern Tamil to express such a proposition. Since equational clauses in Tamil do not have a copula verb, which usually functions as carrier of tense, mood, or aspect morphemes, equational clauses are interpreted as general statements with no temporal reference.

The structure of a verbless or equational clause is, however, not restricted to the occurrence of two noun phrases in nominative case only. As observed by Annamalai (1969), the nominal predicate can also be a NP in dative case. Example:

(389) *inta·p paricu kumaar-ukku*
this gift Kumar-dat
'This gift (is) for Kumar.'

It appears as if there are also verbless clauses which have a subject NP in dative case. We will see under 3.4 that in verbal clauses the subject NP can be in dative case. Consider the following example:

(390) *kumaar-ukku·t taakam*
Kumar-dat thirst
'Kumar has thirst.'

This sentence is, however, only a verbless clause on surface structure. It is the result of an optional deletion rule, which deletes the verb *iru* 'be'. Thus the alternative version of (390) with an undeleted verb is (391).

(391) *kumaar-ukku·t taakam iru-kkir̲-atu*
Kumar-dat thirst be-pres-3sn
'Kumar has thirst.'

Note in this context that in a Tamil verbal clause the verb is usually not deletable. In fact, the verb is usually the only obligatory constituent and

all its arguments can be non-overt, as shown by the following example and discussed in detail under 5.6.

(392) *koṭu-tt-aan̲*
give-pst-3sm
'(He) gave (it).'

However, the verb *iru* 'be' can optionally be deleted when it occurs in the following two structural patterns:

(393) i) NP dative + NP nominative + *iru*.
ii) NP locative + NP nominative + *iru*.

Sentence (391) is an example of the first structural pattern and the following (394) is an example of the second one.

(394) *inta·k kiraama-tt-il muun̲r̲u koovil* (*iru-kkir̲-atu*)
this village-obl-loc three temple be-pres-3sn
'There are three temples in this village.'

When the verb *iru* 'be' is deleted in these cases, verbless clauses on surface structure are formed.
Verbless or equational clauses do not always consist of a nominal subject and a nominal predicate only. They can contain various adverbial adjuncts apart from subject and predicate. Example:

(395) [*inta vaara-ttu-kku appuṟam*] *kumaar* [*eṅkaḷ uur-ukku*]
this week-obl-dat after Kumar we(obl) village-dat
talaivar
leader
'After this week Kumar is the leader for our village.'

In (395) there are, apart from the subject NP *kumaar* and the predicate *talaivar*, a postpositional phrase and a dative case noun phrase as adverbial adjuncts.

We will now return to the semantic properties of verbless clauses. Since verbless clauses do not have a non-lexical copula verb, which serves as carrier for tense, mood, and aspect morphemes, verbless clauses are consequently not marked for categories like tense, mood, and aspect and are, therefore, interpreted as general or temporally unmarked attributive or ascriptive propositions. The question arises then how does Tamil express an attributive or ascriptive proposition which is temporally marked. The answer is that it uses a different syntactic structure, which can be represented as follows:

(396) NP nominative + NP-*aakalaay* + *iru* 'be'

This structure is exemplified by the following sentences.

(397)

kumaar	*vakkiil-aakalaay*	*iru-nt-aan̲*
		be-pst-3sm
Kumar	lawyer-adv	*iru-kkir̲-aan̲*
		be-pres-3sm
		iru-pp-aan̲
		be-fu-3sm

'Kumar was/is now/will be a lawyer.'

Note that in the above structure, the verb *iru* 'be' does not occur as copula verb. Unlike copula verbs, which do not have a lexical function, but only a grammatical one, namely, to be carrier of tense morphemes, etc., the verb *iru* occurs here as a lexical verb, which we will discuss in the following. As lexical verb *iru* generally expresses location or state 'be located in, be in a state of' (see Steever 1983:296). As such it takes three sets of argument NPs and occurs thus in three types of structural contexts. First, as shown under (393) and exemplified by (394), *iru* combines with a subject nominative and adverbial locative NP and predicates the location of the subject NP by means of the locative NP. Second, as shown by (393) and illustrated by (391), *iru* combines with a subject dative NP and a nominative NP and predicates the state of the subject NP, which is a state of possession, or emotion or feeling, by means of the nominative NP. Third, as shown under (396) and exemplified by (397), *iru* combines with a subject nominative NP and a NP + -*aakalaay*. In this case *iru* also predicates the state of the subject NP as expressed by the NP + -*aakalaay*. The function of the suffix -*aakalaay*, usually referred to as adverbializing suffix, is to express the concept of temporariness. Thus the state is a temporary one. Examples:

(398) *kumaar* *vaattiyar-aakalaay* *iru-kkir̲-aan̲*
Kumar teacher-adv be-pres-3sm
'Kumar is a teacher now.'

(399) *kumaar* *koopam-aakalaay* *iru-kkir̲-aan̲*
Kumar anger-adv be-pres-3sm
'Kumar is angry now (is in a state of anger now).'

The above sentences express that Kumar is now in a state of being a teacher and in the state of anger. This implies that Kumar was not in this

state before and since permanence of this state is also not implied, this state is a temporary one.

To sum up the preceding discussion, an attributive or ascriptive proposition which is temporarily unmarked is realized syntactically in Tamil by a verbless clause, consisting of a subject and predicate noun phrase. An attributive or ascriptive proposition which is, however, teporarily marked is syntactically realized by a verbal clause, containing the stative verb *iru* 'be', a subject noun phrase, and a noun phrase marked with the suffix -*aakalaay*, which expresses temporary state.

3.2
Subjectless sentences

In the previous section we showed that in Tamil the verb is not an obligatory element in all clauses and that Tamil has, therefore, a type of verbless clauses. In this section we will show that in Tamil the subject NP is also not an obligatory element in all sentences and that Tamil has, thus, a few types of subjectless sentences.

The data which suggest that a subject NP is not generated in the sentence structure do not involve simple, but complex sentences, in which a clause is embedded as complement to a verb. Consider the following three examples:

(400) *kumaar* *raajaa·v-ai·p* *paar·kk-a* *neer-nt-atu*
Kumar Raja-acc see-inf happen-pst-3sn
'It happened that Kumar saw Raja.'

(401) *kumaar* *nalla·v-an̲* *pool-a·t* *toon̲r̲u-kir̲-atu*
Kumar nice-3sm seem-inf seem-pres-3sn
'It seems as if Kumar is a nice one.'

(402) *kumaar* *varu-v-aan̲* *pool-um*
Kumar come-fu-3sm seem-fu+3sn
'It seems as if Kumar comes.'

In (400) the finite verbal predicate *neer-nt-atu* takes an infinitive clause with the predicate *paar·kk-a* as sentential complement. In (401) the finite verbal predicate *toon̲r̲u-kir̲-atu* takes also an infinitive clause with the predicate *pool-a* as sentential complement. Even though the infinitive *pool-a* in (401) does not have a lexical meaning, but a complementizing function, syntactically it functions as predicate of an infinitive clause, taking the verbless clause *kumaar nalla·v-an̲* as sentential complement—

see 4.72 for more discussion. In (402) the finite verbal predicate *pool-um* takes the finite clause *kumaar varu-v-aan̲* as sentential complement without a complementizer. Common in (400) to (402) is the structure of a verbal predicate taking a sentential complement. One could now assume that these sentential complements function as sentential subject NPs and, like other sentential subject NPs, e.g. verbal noun clauses, trigger the third person-singular-neuter agreement marker on the verbal predicate. However, neither of these sentential complements displays any property of subject NPs, such as triggering reflexivization, for example,—see 3.5. Furthermore, there is not even evidence that these sentential complements are embedded as NPs. Note, for example, that the infinitive clauses in (400) and (401) cannot occur as antecedent of the pronoun *atu* 'it'—the pro-form of subject NPs, but can only occur as antecedents of the pro-form *appaṭi* 'so'. This is exemplified for (400) by (403).

(403) a. *kumaar raajaa·v-ai·p paar·kk-a neer-nt-atu*
Kumar Raja-acc see-inf happen-pst-3sn
'It happened that Kumar saw Raja.'

b. *aamaa* { * *atu* / it / *appaṭi* / so } *neer-nt-atu*
yes happen-pst-3sn
'Yes, it happened so.'

This suggests then that the structure of (400) to (402) is as follows:

(404) $[_s$ S V]

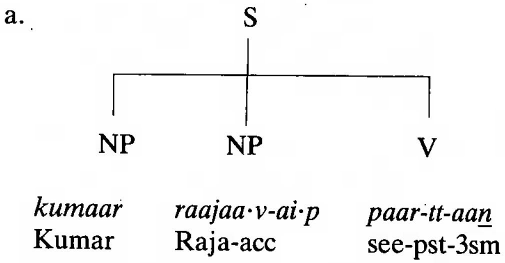
That is to say there are sentences in Tamil in which the verbal predicate takes only a sentential complement as its argument, but no subject NP of whatever sort, e.g. pleonastic elements like 'it' or 'there' in English.

3.3
Verb final clauses and free word order

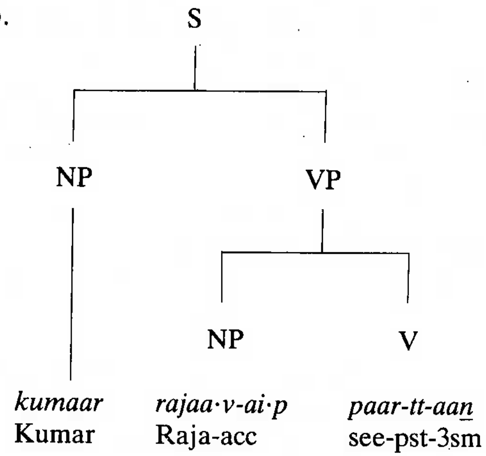
In this section we will investigate the word oder in Tamil verbal clauses. Hereby we will make the following two observations: (i) in verbal clauses the verb (V) occurs in clause final position, (ii) the subcategorized argument NPs of the verbal predicate, e.g. subject and object NPs, as well as adverbial adjuncts can occur in almost any order before the verbal predicate.

Before we illustrate the free word order of the arguments and adjuncts of the verbal predicate, we have to make the following basic assumption. We assume that the verb and all its argument NPs, as well as adverbial adjuncts, are immediate constituents of the sentence. This means that in Tamil there is no syntactic bond, that is phrasal constituent, which affects the verb and the object NPs, but not the subject NP. That is to say, there is no verb phrase (VP) constituent in Tamil. Subject, objects, and the verb are all immediate constituents of S. Thus, the constituent structure of a di-transitive clause in Tamil is (405a) rather than (405b):

(405) a.



b.



Note that there are no syntactic processes in Tamil which treat both the verb and the object NP as one constituent, that is as VP. There is thus no positive evidence for a VP constituent. Instead the absence of a VP constituent, that is the fact that all arguments and adjuncts and the verbal predicate are immediate constituents of S, makes it possible to generate the arguments and adverbial adjuncts of the verbal predicate in any order before the clause final verb.

The positional freedom of argument NPs before the clause final verb constituent is illustrated by the following examples:

(406) a. S O_2 O_1 V
mantiri kuẓantai-kku·p paric-ai·k koṭu-tt-aar
minister child-dat prize-acc give-pst-3sh
'The minister gave the child a prize.'

b. S O_1 O_2 V
mantiri paric-ai·k kuẓantai-kku·k koṭu-tt-aar
minister prize-acc child-dat give-pst-3sh

c. O_1 S O_2 V
paric-ai mantiri kuẓantai-kku·k koṭu-tt-aar
prize-acc minister child-dat give-pst-3sh

d. O_2 S O_1 V
kuẓantai-kku mantiri paric-ai·k koṭu-tt-aar
child-dat minister prize-acc give-pst-3sh

e. O_1 O_2 S V
paric-ai·k kuẓantai-kku mantiri koṭu-tt-aar
prize-acc child-dat minister give-pst-3sh

f. O_2 O_1 S V
kuẓantai-kku·p paric-ai mantiri koṭu-tt-aar
child-dat prize-acc minister give-pst-3sh

The freedom of word order extends also to adverbial adjuncts. Thus an adverbial adjunct, e.g. the time adverbial *neeṟṟu* 'yesterday', can occur in any position before the clause final verbal predicate. This is illustrated by the following examples:

(407) a. *neeṟṟu mantiri kuẓantai-kku·p paric-ai·k koṭu-tt-aar*
yesterday minister child-dat prize-acc give-pst-3sh
'Yesterday the minister gave the child a prize.'

b. *mantiri neeṟṟu kuẓantai-kku·p paric-ai·k koṭu-tt-aar*
minister yesterday child-dat prize-acc give-pst-3sh

c. *mantiri kuẓantai-kku neeṟṟu paric-ai·k koṭu-tt-aar*
minister child-dat yesterday prize-acc give-pst-3sh

d. *mantiri kuẓantai-kku·p paric-ai neeṟṟu koṭu-tt-aar*
minister child-dat prize-acc yesterday give-pst-3sh

The above examples show that Tamil has an absolute freedom of word order of the arguments and adverbial adjuncts of the verb in pre-verbal position. The verbal predicate, on the other hand, occurs in a fixed position at the end of the clause. There are, however, examples where an argument NP occurs after the verbal predicate. Consider the following examples:

(408) a. *kuẓantai-kku·p paric-ai·k koṭu-tt-aar mantiri*
child-dat prize-acc give-pst-3sh minister
'A prize to the child gave the minister.'

b. *mantiri kuẓantai-kku·k koṭu-tt-aar paric-ai*
minister child-dat give-pst-3sh prize-acc
* 'The minister to the child gave a gift.'

c. *mantiri paric-ai·k koṭu-tt-aar kuẓantai-kku*
minister prize-acc give-pst-3sh child-dat
* 'The minister a gift gave to the child.'

Notice now that the occurrence of an argument NP after the verb is only possible in finite clauses, but not in non-finite clauses. This is illustrated by the following example, where the non-finite clause contains the conditional as verbal predicate.

(409) a. [$_S$ *mantiri kuẓantai-kku·p paric-ai·k koṭu-tt·aal*]
minister child-dat prize-acc give-cond
atu cantooṣappaṭu-kiṟ-atu
it be happy-pres-3sn
'If the minister gives a prize to the child, it will be happy.'

b. * [$_S$ *kuẓantai-kku·p paric-ai·k koṭu-tt·aal*
child-dat prize-acc give-cond
mantiri] *atu cantooṣappaṭu-kiṟ-atu*
minister it be happy-pres-3sn

Thus in non-finite clauses the verb occurs always in sentence final position and no argument can occur after it. This is due to the fact that non-finite verb forms are marked with a subordinating or complementizing suffix, e.g. the conditional suffix, as in (409), which marks the clause boundary, that is the end of an embedded or adjoined clause. The verbal suffixes of a finite verb form do, however, not have the function of marking the clause boundary.

The above data suggest the following principles of word order in Tamil: (i) in the generation of clause structure the verbal predicate is always generated in clause final position—that is Tamil is a verb final language. (ii) the word order of the arguments and adverbial aduncts of the verbal predicate is, however, free, that is, arguments and adverbial adjuncts can be generated in any order before the clause final verb. (iii) on surface structure an optional stylistic movement rule can postpose an argument NP over the finite verb.

Grammatical relations

3.4

Noun phrases bear various grammatical relations, that is syntactic functions like subject, direct object, indirect object, etc. Grammatical relations are relevant for the operation of grammatical processes, such as reflexivization, passivization, deletion, etc. Moreover, syntactic functions are also coded in the sentence. To code syntactic functions, languages use such techniques like word order, case marking, and agreement.

In the following sections we will show the techniques Tamil uses to code syntactic functions and the grammatical processes which are sensitive to grammatical functions. Hereby we will restrict us to the grammatical function of subject and to transitive clauses. We will then show that Tamil uses only agreement to indicate the subject relation and that processes like reflexivization and control of a deleted element depend on the subject relation.

In Tamil, two-place argument sentences can be distinguished into three sentence patterns with respect to the case marking of the two noun phrase arguments:

- NOM(inative) — ACC(usative) pattern
- DAT(ive) — ACC(usative) pattern
- DAT(ive) — NOM(inative) pattern

The basic case marking pattern of a cardinal transitive sentence is NOM—ACC. This pattern has two deviations: (a) stative predicates expressing the notion of mental, emotional, and physical experience require the case marking pattern of DAT—ACC, (b) stative predicates expressing the notions of possession, necessity, etc. require the case marking pattern DAT—NOM.

3.5

NOM—ACC pattern

The basic case marking pattern of a Tamil transitive clause is the NOM—ACC pattern. This is illustrated by the following examples:

(410) *kumaar raajaa·v-ai aṭi-tt-aaṉ*
Kumar Raja-acc beat-pst-3sm
'Kumar beat the Raja.'

(411) *kuẓantai paaṉai·y-ai uṭai-tt-atu*
child pot-acc break-pst-3sn
'The child broke the pot.'

In the following discussion we will demonstrate that the nominative NP of the NOM—ACC pattern exhibits the characteristic properties of the subject and can thus clearly be identified as the subject NP of the clause.

We mentioned above, that languages use three basic techniques to code syntactic functions: word order, case marking, and agreement. Under 3.4. we showed that Tamil has free word order with respect to the argument NPs of the verb and that thus the subject does not occupy a fixed position in the clause. Nor does case marking indicate the subject funcion. Even though in the above sentence pattern the subject NP occurs in nominative case, the nominative case form cannot be regarded as an indicator of the subject. Remember that we showed under 1.14 that a nominative NP in Tamil does not always have subject function and we will show later that the subject NP can also occur in dative case, for example. Thus in the NOM—ACC sentence pattern only agreement is an indicator of the subject relation. Hereby, the nominative subject NP codes agreement on the verbal predicate with respect to person, number, and where appropriate gender and status. This is illustrated by the following two examples:

(412) *niiṅkaḷ kumaar-ai aṭi-tt-iirkaḷ*
you(pl) Kumar-acc beat-pst-2pl
'You beat Kumar.'

(413) *avaṉ kumaar-ai·k kuuppiṭ·ṭ-aaṉ*
he Kumar-acc call-pst-3sm
'He called Kumar.'

In (412) the nominative NP *niiṅkaḷ* 'you' with the pronominal content [second person, plural] is coded on the verb by means of the pronominal

suffix *-iirkaḷ* [second person, plural]. In (413) the nominative NP *avan̠* 'he' with the pronominal content [third person, singular, masculine] is coded on the verbal predicate by means of the pronominal suffix *-aan̠* [third person, singular, masculine]. The accusative or object NP is, however, not marked on the verb.

Next we will turn to reflexivization. As mentioned in the previous chapter, Tamil does not have a morphological reflexive pronoun. In reflexive constructions Tamil uses personal pronouns. Hereby, if the referent is third person, the fourth person pronoun *taan̠* is used—see 2.3. There is now the constraint that the antecedent of the pronoun *taan̠* can only be the subject NP, but not, for example, the object NP. In the following example, the nominative NP occurs as antecedent of the pronoun *taan̠*:

(414) *kumaar*$_i$ *tan̠n̠-ai*$_i$ *aṭi-ttu·k-koṇ-ṭ-aan̠*
Kumar he-acc beat-vbp-hold-pst-3sm
'Kumar$_i$ beat himself$_i$.'

The accusative object NP, however, cannot function as antecedent of the pronoun *taan̠*. This is illustrated by the following example:

(415) a. *kumaar*$_i$ *raaja·v-ai·t* *tan̠a-kk-aaka*$_i$ *varai-nt-aan̠*
Kumar Raja-acc he-dat-ben paint-pst-3sm
'Kumar$_i$ painted Raja for himself$_i$.'

b. * *kumaar* *raajaa·v-ai·t*$_i$ *tan̠a-kk-aaka*$_i$ varai-nt-aan̠
Kumar Raja-acc he-dat-ben paint-pst-3sm
'Kumar painted Raja$_i$ for himself$_i$.'

In (415) the object NP *raajaa·v-ai* cannot be interpreted as coreferential with the pronoun *taan̠*, as shown by sentence b. Only the subject NP *kumaar* can be interpreted, so as shown by sentence a. The second grammatical process sensitive to the subject function is deletion. In a complex sentence construction consisting of the juxtaposition of a verbal participle clause S$_1$ and a finite clause S$_2$: S → S$_1$ S$_2$—to be discussed in detail under 4.19—only one of the two nominative subject NPs appears overtly, provided that both subject NPs are interpreted as coreferential. Thus in the following example only the subject NP of the verbal participle clause S$_1$ appears in overt form, while the subject NP of the finite clause S$_2$ is deleted, being coreferential with the subject NP of the verbal participle clause S$_1$. The deleted subject NP will be represented as 'pro'.

(416) [$_S$[$_{S_1}$ *kumaar*$_i$ *viiṭ·ṭu-kku* *va-ntu*]
Kumar house-dat come-vbp
[$_{S_2}$ pro$_i$ *naar̠kaali·y-il* *uṭkaar-nt-aan̠*]]
chair-loc sit down-pst-3sm
'Kumar$_i$ came home and pro$_i$ sat down on the chair.'

The deleted subject NP of the finite clause is obligatorily interpreted as coreferential with the overt subject NP of the verbal participle clause, that is, the subject NP of the verbal participle clause serves as controller of the deleted subject NP of the finite clause. Alternatively, the subject NP of the verbal participle clause S$_1$ can be deleted, being controlled by the overt subject NP of the finite clause S$_2$. This is shown by the following example:

(417) [$_S$[$_{S_1}$ pro$_i$ *viiṭ·ṭu-kku* *va-ntu*]
house-dat come-vbp
[$_{S_2}$ *kumaar*$_i$ *naar̠kaali·y-il* *uṭkaar-nt-aan̠*]]
Kumar chair-loc sit down-pst-3sm
'pro$_i$ coming home Kumar sat down on the chair.'

Thus, when in the juxtaposition of a verbal participle clause S$_1$ and a finite clause S$_2$ the subject NPs of both clauses are coreferential, one of the nominative subject NPs is obligatorily deleted and the other nominative subject NP functions as its controller. The object NP cannot function as controller of the deleted nominative subject NP, as shown by the following example:

(418) a. [$_S$[$_{S_1}$ *kumaar*$_i$ *raajaa·v-ai·k* *kuuppiṭ·ṭu*]
Kumar Raja-acc call-vbp
[$_{S_2}$ pro$_i$ *avan̠-ai* *aṭi-tt-aan̠*]]
he-acc beat-pst-3sm
'Kumar called Raja and pro beat him.'

b. * [$_S$[$_{S_1}$ *kumaar* *raajaa·v-ai·k* *kuuppiṭ·ṭu*]
Kumar Raja-acc call-vbp
[$_{S_2}$ pro *avan̠-ai* *aṭi-tt-aan̠*]]
he-acc beat-pst-3sm
* 'Kumar called Raja$_i$ and pro$_i$ beat him.'

The discussion sofar has shown that in the NOM—ACC pattern (i) the subject nominative NP codes agreement on the verb, (ii) the occurrence of the fourth person pronoun *taan̠* in a reflexive construction depends on

the subject relation, and (iii) the subject NP undergoes and controls deletion under a specific condition. In all three cases, the nominative NP was crucially involved in both coding strategy and the two grammatical processes and has thus been clearly identified as the subject NP.

3.6
DAT—ACC pattern

As mentioned above, the basic case marking pattern of a Tamil transitive clause has deviations. The first deviation from this basic pattern we will discuss is the DAT—ACC pattern. Predicates that require this case pattern are a restricted class of stative verbs:

- verbs of mental experience:
  teri 'know'
  puri 'understand'

- verbs of emotional experience:
  piṭi 'like'

- verbs of physical and biological experience:
  paci 'be hungry'
  vali 'full pain'
  ari 'itch'
  kuucu 'feel ticklish'

It has to be noted that all these verbs are morphologically defective: they cannot occur with all pronominal suffixes, but only with the third person-singular-neuter suffix. See the following examples for illustration of the DAT—ACC pattern.

(419) with verbs of mental experience
kumaar-ukku inta uur-ai·t teri·y-um
Kumar-dat this place-acc know-fu+3sn
'Kumar knows this place.'

(420) with verbs of emotional experience
kumaar-ukku raajaa·v-ai·p piṭi·kk-um
Kumar-dat Raja-acc like-fu+3sn
'Kumar likes Raja.'

(421) with verbs of physical and biological experience:
a. *kumaar-ukku vayir̲·r̲-ai·p paci-kkir̲-atu*
Kumar-dat stomach-accfeel hungry-pres-3sn
'Kumar feels hungry for food.'

b. *kumaar-ukku·t talai·y-ai vali-kkir̲-atu*
Kumar-dat head-acc pain-pres-3sn
'Kumar has headache.'

c. *raajaa·v-ukku·k kai·y-ai ari-tt-atu*
Raja-dat hand-acc itch-pst-3sn
'Raja felt itching on the hand.'

d. *kumaar-ukku·k kaal-ai·k kuuc-i·y-atu*
Kumar-dat leg-acc feel ticklish-pst-3sn
'Kumar felt ticklish on the leg.'

In all these examples the dative case NPs have the semantic role of the recipient of an experience. Henceforth, we will refer to these NPs as dative experiencer NPs. The fact that these argument NPs occur in dative case and not in nominative case may be explained in the following way. The above set of stative verbs—in contrast to other transitive verbs—assigns case to both of their argument NPs, depending on the semantic role of the NP: dative case to the NP with the semantic role of recipient of experience and accusative case to the NP with the semantic role of patient. In the following, we will examine the dative experiencer NPs as to whether they display subject properties, such as exhibited by the nominative NPs of the NOM—ACC pattern. We stated above that the verbal predicates of the DAT—ACC pattern are morphologically defective verbs, which can only take the third person-singular-neuter pronominal suffix as agreement marker. Thus these verbs cannot show agreement.

Turning to reflexivization, we stated above that only nominative subject NPs occur as antecedent of the fourth person pronoun, but not accusative object NPs. Likewise, dative case NPs with the function of indirect object cannot occur as antecedent of this pronoun. This is shown by the following example:

(422) a. *kumaar$_i$ raajaa·v-ukku·t tan̲n̲-ai·p$_i$ par̲r̲i oru*
Kumar Raja-dat he-acc about one
kaṭṭurai·y-ai·k koṭu-tt-aar
article-acc give-pst-3sh
'Kumar$_i$ gave Raja one article about himself$_i$.'

b. * *kumaar raajaa·v-ukku·t*$_i$ *tann-ai·p*$_i$ *parri oru*
Kumar Raja-dat he-acc about one
katturai·y-ai·k koṭu-tt-aar
article-acc give-pst-3sh
'Kumar gave Raja$_i$ one article about himself$_i$.'

The fourth person pronoun *taan* can only have the subject NP in nominative case as its antecedent, as in sentence a., but not the indirect object NP in dative case, as in sentence b. The dative experiencer NPs, however, behave like nominative case subject NPs: they can occur as antecedent of the pronoun *taan*. This is illustrated by the following examples:

(423) a. *kumaar-ukku·t*$_i$ *tann-ai·p*$_i$ *puri·y-a·v-ill-ai*
Kumar-dat he-acc understand-inf-be not-3pln
'Kumar$_i$ didn't understand himself$_i$.'

b. *kumaar-ukku·t*$_i$ *tann-ai*$_i$ *mattum piṭi·kk-um*
Kumar-dat he-acc only like-fu+3sn
'Kumar$_i$ likes only himself$_i$.'

Next we will turn to the process of deletion in complex sentence constructions. In the discussion of the NOM—ACC pattern we stated that in the juxtaposition of a verbal participle clause S$_1$ and a finite clause S$_2$ only the nominative subject NP of one of the two clauses appears overtly, while the other nominative subject NP is deleted, provided both subject NPs are coreferential. When the subject NP of one of the two clauses is deleted, the nominative subject NP of the other clause controls the deleted subject NP, but the accusative object NP of the other clause cannot do so. Nor can a dative case NP of the other clause with indirect object function control the deleted nominative subject NP, as shown by the following example:

(424) a. [$_s$[s$_1$ *kumaar*$_i$ *raajaa·v-ukku·p paṇam koṭu-ttu*]
Kumar Raja-dat money give-vbp
[s$_2$ pro$_{i/j}$ *cantoosappaṭ·ṭ-aan*]]
feel happy-pst-3sm
'Kumar$_i$ gave money to Raja and pro$_i$ felt happy.'

b. * [$_s$[s$_1$ *kumaar raajaa·v-ukku·p*$_i$ *paṇam koṭu-ttu*]
Kumar Raja-dat money give-vbp
[s$_2$ pro$_i$ *cantoosappaṭ·ṭ-aan*]]
feel happy-pst-3sm
* 'Kumar gave money to Raja$_i$ and pro$_i$ felt happy.'

Now in the DAT—ACC pattern, the dative experiencer NPs behave like nominative NPs: they can control a deleted nominative subject NP. This is illustrated by the following examples:

(425) a. [$_s$[s$_1$ *kumaar-ukku*$_i$ *anta·p peṇṇ-ai·p piṭi-ttu*]
Kumar-dat that girl-acc like-vbp
[s$_2$ pro$_i$ *avaḷ-ai·k kaliyaaṇam cey-t-aan*]]
she-acc marriage do-pst-3sm
'Kumar$_i$ liked the girl and pro$_i$ married her.'

b. [$_s$[s$_1$ pro$_i$ *niraiya·c caappiṭ·ṭu*]
a lot eat-vbp
[s$_2$ *kumaar-ukku*$_i$ *vayir·r-ai vali-tt-atu*]]
Kumar-dat stomach-acc pain-pst-3sn
'pro$_i$ eating a lot Kumar$_i$ got stomach pain.'

In (425a) the dative experiencer NP *kumaar-ukku* of the verbal participle clause S$_1$ controls the deleted nominative subject NP of the finite clause S$_2$. In (425b) the dative experiencer NP *kumaar-ukku* of the finite clause S$_2$ controls the deleted nominative subject NP of the verbal clause S$_1$. Thus with respect to the function of controller, the dative experiencer NPs behave like nominative subject NPs.

The discussion of the DAT—ACC pattern has shown that the dative case NPs of this pattern display two properties characteristically associated with the subject in Tamil: (i) they occur as antecedent of the fourth person pronoun *taan* in reflexive constructions, and (ii) they occur as controller of the deleted nominative subject NP in a complex construction. Assuming with Keenan (1976) that the notion of subject is a matter of degree, we can identify the dative experiencer NPs as subject of the DAT—ACC pattern. However, since their subject function is not coded in the clause by means of agreement, they are less subject-like than the nominative subjects of the NOM—ACC pattern.

An interesting situation arises now in the second deviation from the cardinal NOM—ACC pattern: the DAT—NOM pattern. This clause type contains as arguments both a dative experiencer NP and a nominative case NP. Both types of NPs have been identified as subject in the NOM—ACC pattern and DAT—ACC pattern, respectively, where each NP occurs with an accusative object NP.

3.7
DAT—NOM pattern

Predicates of the DAT—NOM pattern are a closed class of stative verbs:

- verbs expressing existence/possession
  iru 'be'
  uḷ 'exist'
  il 'be not'
  kiṭai 'exist'
  kiṭai 'get'

- verbs expressing need/obligation
  veenṭu 'want'
  teevaippaṭu 'need'
  pootu 'be enough'

- the verbs *teri* 'be visible', *keeḷ* 'hear', and *peecu* 'speak', when occurring with the nouns *kaṇ* 'eye', *kaatu* 'ear', and *vaay* 'mouth', respectively

- the verb *vaa* 'come' when occurring with nouns denoting mental or emotional experience, e.g. *ñaapakam* 'memory', or *payam* 'fear'.

The DAT—NOM pattern is illustrated by the following examples:

(426) with verbs expressing existence/possession
a. *kumaar-ukku oru paiyan̲ iru-kkir̲-aan̲*
Kumar-dat a boy be-pres-3sm
'Kumar has one boy.'

b. *kumaar-ukku·p payam ill-ai*
Kumar-dat fear be not-3pln
'Kumar has no fear.'

c. *raajaa·v-ukku·p paṇam kiṭai-tt-atu*
Raja-dat money get-pst-3sn
'Raja got money.'

(427) with verbs expressing need/obligation
a. *kumaar-ukku oru viiṭu veenṭ-um*
Kumar-dat a house want-fu+3sn
'Kumar wants (needs) a house.'

b. *kuẓantai-kku·p paal poot-um*
child-dat milk suffice-fu+3sn
'The milk is enough for the child.'

(428) with the verbs *teri*, *keeḷ* and the nouns *kaṇ*, *kaatu*
a. *avan̲-ukku·k kaṇ teri·y-aa-tu*
he-dat eye be visible-neg-3sn
'He is blind.'

b. *avaḷ-ukku·k kaatu keeṭ·k-aa-tu*
she-dat ear hear-neg-3sn
'She is deaf.'

(429) with the verb *vaa* occurring with nouns of mental and emotional experience
a. *kumaar-ukku ñaapakam va-nt-atu*
Kumar-dat memory come-pst-3sn
'Kumar got some memories.'

b. *kumaar-ukku·c canteekam va-nt-atu*
Kumar-dat doubt come-pst-3sn
'Kumar got some doubt.'

c. *kumaar-ukku aattiram var-a·v-ill-ai*
Kumar-dat anger come-inf-be not-3pln
'Kumar didn't get angry.'

As in the previous pattern, here also the dative case noun phrases have the semantic role of the recipient of an experience, for example, the state of possession, need, etc., and we will refer to them as dative experiencer NPs. In the following we will investigate the syntactic behavior of both NP arguments with respect to the display of syntactic subject properties.

Of the argument NPs of the DAT—NOM pattern the nominative NP, but not the dative experiencer NP, codes agreement on the verb. This can be seen clearly in the case of the verbal predicates *iru* 'be', *kiṭai* 'be available, get', and *teevaippaṭu* 'be required, need'. We will illustrate this with the following examples:

(430) *kumaar-ukku iranṭu paiyan-kaḷ iru-kkir̲-aarkaḷ*
Kumar-dat two boy-pl be-pres-3pl
'Kumar has two boys.'

(431) *kumaar-ukku tan̲ makan̲ tirumpa·k kiṭai-tt-aan̲*
Kumar-dat he(obl) son back get-pst-3sm
'Kumar got his son back.'

(432) *kumaar-ukku oru veelaikkaaran̲ teevaippaṭu-kir̲-aan̲*
Kumar-dat a servant need-pres-3sm
'Kumar needs a servant.'

In (430) the nominative NP *iraṇṭu paiyan̲-kaḷ* 'two boys' with the pronominal content [third person, plural] is coded on the verb by means of the pronominal suffix *-aarkaḷ* [third person, plural]. In (431) the nominative NP *tan̲ makan̲* 'his son' with the pronominal content [third person, singular, masculine] is coded on the verb with the pronominal suffix *-aan̲* [third person, singular, masculine]. Likewise in (432), the nominative NP *oru veelaikkaaran̲* 'one servant' with the pronominal content [third person, singular, masculine] is coded on the verb by means of the pronominal suffix *-aan̲* [third person, singular, masculine]. In the case of other verbs like *uḷ* 'exist', *il* 'be not', *veeṇṭu* 'want', etc. agreement cannot be shown since the respective verbs are morphologically defective. With the verbs given under (iii) and (iv), agreement is shown, but involves invariably a neuter noun in nominative case. Thus the verbs take always the third person-singular-neuter suffix *-atu*, as shown by the examples (428) and (429). However some nominative NPs can also be marked for plural number and in this case the third person-plural-neuter suffix *-a* can occur. Example:

(433) *kumaar-ukku·c cila nin̲aivu-kaḷ va-nt-an̲-a*
Kumar-dat a few memory-pl come-pst-euph-3pln
'Kumar got some memories.'

Next we will turn to the reflexive constructions. In the discussion of the NOM—ACC and DAT—ACC pattern we saw that the nominative and dative experiencer NP, respectively, occur as antecedent of the fourth person pronoun *taan̲*. In the DAT—NOM pattern, where both types of NPs occur in the same pattern, it is the dative experiencer NP, but not the nominative NP, which occurs as antecedent of the pronoun *taan̲*. This is illustrated by the following examples:

(434) a. *kumaar-ukku·t$_i$ tann̲-ai·p$_i$ par̲r̲i·k kavalai ill-ai*
Kumar-dat he-acc about concern be not-3pln
'Kumar$_i$ has no concern about himself$_i$.'

b. *kumaar-ukku·t$_i$ tan̲$_i$ paṇam veeṇṭ-um*
Kumar-dat he(obl) money want-fu+3sn
'Kumar$_i$ wants his$_i$ money.'

c. *tiṭiiren̲r̲u kumaar-ukku·t$_i$ tan̲$_i$ kaṇ teri-nt-atu*
suddenly Kumar-dat he(obl) eye see-pst-3sn
'Suddenly Kumar$_i$ got his$_i$ eye sight.'

d. *kumaar-ukku·t$_i$ tan̲$_i$ meelee aattiram va-nt-atu*
Kumar-dat he(obl) on anger come-pst-3sn
'Kumar$_i$ got angry about himself$_i$.'

The nominative NP, on the other hand, can never occur as antecedent of the fourth person pronoun in this pattern. See the following example:

(435) *kumaar-ukku·k$_i$ kaṭattappaṭ·ṭ-a uumaa$_j$*
Kumar-dat get kidnapped-pst-adj Uma
tan̲$_i$($_j$) viiṭ·ṭ-il miiṇṭum kiṭai-tt-aaḷ*
he(she) house-loc back get-pst-3sf
'Kumar$_i$ got the kidnapped Uma$_j$ back in his$_i$ (* her$_j$) house.'

In (435) the pronoun *tan̲* can only refer to the dative experiencer NP *kumaar-ukku*, but not to the nominative NP *uumaa*. Finally, we will turn to deletion in complex constructions. Here it is the dative experiencer NP and not the nominative NP which occurs as controller of the deleted nominative subject NP. This is shown by the following examples:

(436) a. [$_s$[s$_1$ *kumaar-ukku$_i$ veelai kiṭai-ttu*]
Kumar-dat work get-vbp
[s$_2$ pro$_i$ *aayiram ruupaay campati-kkir̲-aan̲*]]
thousand rupee earn-pres-3sm
'Kumar$_i$ got work and pro$_i$ earns one thousand rupees.'

b. [$_s$[s$_1$ *kumaar-ukku·k$_i$ koopam va-ntu*]
Kumar-dat anger come-vbp
[s$_2$ pro$_i$ *raajaa·v-ai aṭi-tt-aan̲*]]
Raja-acc beat-pst-3sm
'Kumar$_i$ got angry and pro$_i$ beat Raja.'

In both (436a) and (436b) the dative experiencer NP *kumaar-ukku* of the verbal participle clause S$_1$ controls the deleted nominative subject NP of the finite clause S$_2$. The nominative NP, however, cannot occur as controller of the deleted nominative subject NP of the other clause. This is illustrated by the following example:

(437) a. [s[s1 *kampeṉi-kku·p*i *paṇam kiṭai-ttu*]
company-dat money get-vbp
[s2 proi *vaṭṭi per·ṟu·k-koṇ-ṭ-iru-kkiṟ-atu*]]
interest get-vbp-hold-vbp-be-pres-3sn
'The companyi got money and proi is getting interest now.'

b. * [s[s1 *kampeṉi-kku·p paṇam*i *kiṭai-ttu*]
company-dat money get-vbp
[s2 proi *vaṭṭi per·ṟu·k-koṇ-ṭ-iru-kkiṟ-atu*]]
interest get-vbp-hold-vbp-be-pres-3sn
* 'The company got moneyi and proi receives interest now.'

The discussion of the DAT—NOM pattern has shown that of the two argument NPs the dative experiencer NP displays the subject properties of being the antecedent of the fourth person pronoun *taaṉ* in a reflexive construction and of being the controller of the deleted nominative subject NP in a complex sentence construction. However, it does not code agreement on the verb. The nominative NP, on the other hand, does not exhibit the subject properties with respect to anaphora and control, but it exhibits the subject property of coding agreement on the verb. Thus, according to coding properties, the nominative NP functions as subject and according to the property of being the trigger of grammatical processes such as anaphora and control the dative experiencer NP functions as subject. This gives rise to an interesting situation in the DAT—NOM pattern: the subject function is split over two NPs, that is the subject properties are distributed over two NPs. This means that the DAT—NOM pattern does not have 'a subject' or 'no subject', but two 'subject-like' NPs, where the dative experiencer NP can be identified as more 'subject-like' than the nominative NP. After the discussion of the three sentence patterns of two-place argument sentences in Tamil, we return to the general discussion of the subject relation. Beginning with coding strategies, neither word order nor case marking gives an indication of the subject relation. Regarding case marking, the subject may be in nominative case or dative case, and both cases express also other grammatical relations. Left is the strategy of agreement. In most cases agreement is the valid indicator of the subject relation. However, there are cases where agreement fails to give a clear indication of the subject relation: dative subjects of the DAT—ACC pattern do not code agreement on the verb and in general there are a number of morphologically defective verbs, which do not allow the subject to code agreement. Turning to grammatical processes which depend on the grammatical relation of subject, we saw (i) that in anaphora the subject

occurs obligatorily as antecedent of the fourth person pronoun *taaṉ*, and (ii) that in control the subject occurs obligatorily as controller of a deleted nominative subject in complex sentence constructions involving the juxtaposition of a verbal participle clause and a finite clause.

Compound verb constructions
3.8

The predicate of a Tamil clause may consist of a compound verb construction. This compound verb construction has a verb in verbal participle (vbp) or infinitive (inf) form—in a few cases also in a nominalized verb form (vn)—as first element and a verb inflected according to the syntactic context of the compound verb construction for the various finite and non-finite verbal categories, e.g. tense and person, number, gender, or conditional or adjectival participle. In this compound verb construction, the first verb element has a lexical function, that is denotes an action, event, or state and is, therefore, called the main verb. The second verb element, however, does not have a lexical function. Instead, it expresses grammatical categories, such as aspect, mood, passive, causation, negative polarity, etc. For this reason, the second verb is referred to as auxiliary verb. Consider now the following examples:

(438) a. *kumaar va-ntu iru-kkiṟ-aaṉ*
Kumar come-vbp be-pres-3sm
'Kumar has come.'

b. *kumaar var-a veeṇṭ-um*
Kumar come-inf want-fu+3sn
'Kumar must come.'

c. *kumaar aṭi·kk-a·p paṭ·ṭ-aaṉ*
Kumar beat-inf experience-pst-3sm
'Kumar was beaten.'

d. *kumaar eṉṉ-ai var-a vai-tt-aaṉ*
Kumar I-acc come-inf put-pst-3sm
'Kumar made me come.'

e. *kumaar var-a·v-ill-ai*
Kumar come-inf-be not-3pln
'Kumar did not come.'

f. *kumaar va-ntu tolai-tt-aan̲*
Kumar come-vbp loose-pst-3sm
'Kumar has come, damn it.'

All of the above sentences contain a compound verb construction as predicate. The compound verb makes a single predication, that is expresses a single action, event, or state. Hereby the first or left-located verb—that is the main verb—has a lexical function denoting the action, event, or state of 'coming' or 'being beaten' (438c). The second or right-located verb, on the other hand, does not express its lexical meaning (which is given in the morphological gloss) and does not denote an action, event, or state different from the one of the main verb. Instead, the second verb has a grammatical meaning or function, expressing various grammatical categories given below. It is, therefore, identified as auxiliary verb. In the compound verb construction, the auxiliary verb bears the inflection of the whole compound verb as required by the context, for example, a tense marker and a pronominal suffix. Thus in the above examples the subject NP *kumaar* codes the third person-singular-masculine suffix *-aan̲* on the auxiliary verb, unless the latter is a defective verb. Moreover, the auxiliary verb governs the inflectional form of the preceding main verb, e.g. verbal participle or infinitive. We will now consider the auxiliary verbs in the above examples. In (438a) the verb *iru* 'be' expresses the category of perfective aspect 'have'. In (438b) the verb *veeṇṭu* 'want' expresses the category of obligative mood 'must'. In (438c) the verb *paṭu* 'experience' expresses the category of passive 'be -en'. In (438d) the verb *vai* 'put' expresses the concept of causation 'make (to do)'. In (438e) the verb *il* 'be not' expresses negative polarity 'not'. And, finally, in (438f) the verb *tolai* 'loose' expresses the negative attitude of the speaker towards the event. These examples show that in Tamil the following grammatical categories are (or can be) realized periphrastically, that is by means of auxiliary verbs:

- aspect
- mood
- passive voice
- causation
- negative polarity
- attitude

All auxiliary verbs in Tamil are lexical verbs which have been grammaticalized, that is their lexical meaning has been replaced by a grammatical one.

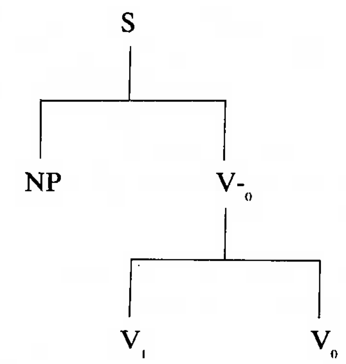
Compound verb constructions are not restricted to sequences of two verbs only, that is one main verb and one auxiliary verb. Sequences of three or more verbs are possible. For example, in the following compound verb construction four auxiliary verbs occur after the main verb.

(439) *kumaar uṭkaar-ntu koṇ-ṭu iru-ntu viṭ-a veeṇṭ-um*
Kumar sit-vbp hold-vbp be-vbp leave-inf want-fu+3sn
'Kumar must keep on sitting.'

Compound verb constructions have been analyzed in detail recently by Annamalai (1982) and in particular by Steever (1983) and with regard to the passive also Steever (1981a:Chap.6). In our treatment of compound verb constructions we will draw on their analysis. In this introductory section of compound verb constructions we will deal with the syntax of these constructions. Hereby we will see that the sequence of main verb + auxiliary verb occurs as one verbal constituent on surface structure [$_v$ V V] and that clauses with a compound verb construction have a bi-sentential underlying structure in which the auxiliary verb occurs as higher verb, taking a sentential complement which has the main verb as its predicate. In the sections to follow we will then present the various auxiliary verbs and the grammatical categories with their subcategories which these auxiliary verbs realize.

Dealing with compound verb constructions in which the main verb occurs in verbal participle form, Steever (1983) shows that both the main verb and the auxiliary verb occur as one verb constituent on surface structure. Extending here this analysis to all other compound verb constructions—irrespective of the inflectional form of the main verb—we can represent the surface structure of compound verbs with one subject argument only—such as given under (438a) to (438c) and (438e, f)—as follows:

(440)



Take a compound verb construction such as (438a), for example, repeated here for convenience as (441):

(441) *kumaar va-ntu iru-kkir̲-aan̲*
Kumar come-vbp be-pres-3sm
'Kumar has come.'

This compound verb construction consists of the main verb *va-ntu* = V_1 in (440), which is inflected for a verbal participle, and the auxiliary verb *iru-kkir̲-aan̲* = V_2 in (440), which is inflected for tense and person, number, gender. As shown under (440), both the main verb *va-ntu* = V_1 and the auxiliary verb *iru-kkir̲-aan̲* = V_0 combine to one verbal constituent V_0 and occur as one constituent on surface structure.

Steever (1983) presents a wide range of arguments supporting that both main and auxiliary verb occur as one verbal constituent on surface structure. We will present here only one argument, which involves free word order and scrambling. In order to show the grammatical behavior of a compound verb construction with respect to free word order and scrambling, it is useful to regard the compound verb construction as a two-verb sequence, consisting of a non-finite verb form as first verb and a verb inflected according to context—in our examples a finite verb—as second verb. In this sequence the second verb, expressing a grammatical category, as shown, above modifies the first verb, which has a lexical meaning. We will contrast this two-verb sequence with another two-verb sequence, consisting also of a non-finite verb form as first element and a verb form inflected according to context—in our examples again a finite verb—as second verb. However, in this sequence the first verb modifies the second verb with adverbial function and both have a lexical function. This second two-verb sequence is illustrated by the following two examples:

(442) a. *kumaar naar̲kaali·y-il nimir-ntu uṭkaar-nt-aan̲*
Kumar chair-loc be upright-vbp sit-pst-3sm
'Kumar was sitting upright on the chair.'

b. *kumaar eṭṭ-a nin̲-r̲-aan̲*
Kumar move-inf stand-pst-3sm
'Kumaar stood aloof.'

In (442) the verbal participle form *nimir-ntu* and infinitive form *eṭṭ-a* modify the following verb with adverbial function of manner and place, respectively.

We will show that both two-verb sequences behave differently with respect to free word order and scramblimg and that this is due to different syntactic structures of the two two-verb sequences. We will begin with the second two-verb sequence, as illustrated under (442). We stated under 3.3 that arguments and adverbial adjuncts of the verbal predicate, all of which are immediate constituents of S, can occur in any order before the sentence final verb. In (442a), for example, the first verb of the two-verb sequence, that is the verbal participle *nimir-ntu* can occur in any order before the second verb, that is the sentence final verb. This is illustrated by the following examples:

(443) a. *kumaar naar̲kaali·y-il nimir-ntu uṭkaar-nt-aan̲*
Kumar chair-loc be upright-vbp sit-pst-3sm
'Kumar was sitting upright on the chair.'

b. *kumaar nimir-ntu naar̲kaali·y-il uṭkaar-nt-aan̲*
Kumar be upright-vbp chair-loc sit-pst-3sm

c. *nimir-ntu kumaar naar̲kaali·y-il uṭkaar-nt-aan̲*
be upright-vbp Kumar chair-loc sit-pst-3sm

In addition, the first verb of this two-verb sequence, that is the non-finite verb, can be moved over the second, that is the sentence final finite verb. This is illustrated by the following example:

(444) *kumaar naar̲kaali·y-il uṭkaar-nt-aan̲ nimir-ntu*
Kumar chair-loc sit-pst-3sm be upright-vbp
'Kumar was sitting upright on the chair.'

In contrast to this two-verb sequence, the two-verb sequence consisting of a main and auxiliary verb, that is the compound verb construction, behaves differently with respect to free word order and scrambling. The first verb in compound verb constructions cannot occur in any order before the second verb, that is the sentence final verb. In other words, in a two-verb sequence of main and auxiliary verbs the two verbs cannot be separated from each other and the sequence cannot be broken up by any other constituent. This is illustrated for the compound verb constructions given under (438) by the following examples, where we add the adverbial adjunct *ippootu* 'this time, now'.

(445) a. *kumaar ippootu va-ntu iru-kkir̲-aan̲*
Kumar now come-vbp be-pres-3sm
'Kumar has come now.'

a'.* *kumaar va-ntu ippootu iru-kkiṟ-aaṉ*
Kumar come-vbp now be-pres-3sm

b. *kumaar ippootu var-a veeṇṭ-um*
Kumar now come-inf want-fu+3sn
'Kumar must come now.'

b'.* *kumaar var-a ippootu veeṇṭ-um*
Kumar come-inf now want-fu+3sn

c. *kumaar ippootu aṭi·kk-a·p paṭ·ṭ-aaṉ*
Kumar now beat-inf experience-pst-3sm
'Kumar was beaten just now.'

c'.* *kumaar aṭi·kk-a ippootu paṭ·ṭ-aaṉ*
Kumar beat-inf now experience-pst-3sm

d. *kumaar eṉṉ-ai ippootu var-a vai-tt-aaṉ*
Kumar I-acc now come-inf put-pst-3sm
'Kumar made me come now.'

d'.* *kumaar eṉṉ-ai var-a ippootu vai-tt-aaṉ*
Kumar I-acc come-inf now put-pst-3sm

e. *kumaar ippootu var-a·v-ill-ai*
Kumar now come-inf-be not-3pln
'Kumar has not come now.'

e'.* *kumaar var-a ippootu ill-ai*
Kumar come-inf now be not-3pln

f. *kumaar ippootu va-ntu tolai-tt-aaṉ*
Kumar now come-vbp loose-pst-3sm
'Kumar has come now, damn it.'

f'. * *kumaar va-ntu ippootu tolai-tt-aaṉ*
Kumar come-vbp now loose-pst-3sm

Nor can the first verb of this two-verb sequence, that is the non-finite verb, be moved over the second verb. This is illustrated by the following sentences:

(446) a. * *kumaar iru-kkiṟ-aaṉ va-ntu*
Kumar be-pres-3sm come-vbp

b. * *kumaar veeṇṭ-um var-a*
Kumar want-fu+3sn come-inf

c. * *kumaar paṭ·ṭ-aaṉ aṭi·kk-a*
Kumar experience-pst-3sm beat-inf

d. * *kumaar eṉṉ-ai vai-tt-aaṉ var-a*
Kumar I-acc put-pst-3sm come-inf

e. * *kumaar ill-ai var-a*
Kumar be not-3pln come-inf

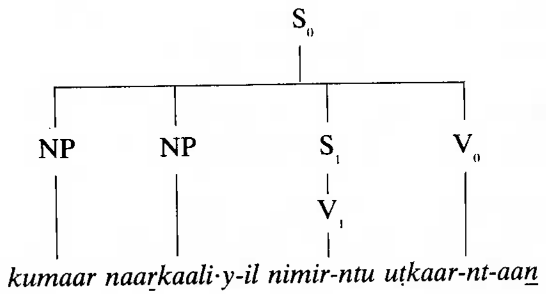
f. * *kumaar tolai-tt-aaṉ va-ntu*
Kumar loose-pst-3sm come-vbp

The above two examples (445) and (446) demonstrate two properties. On the one hand, the two-verb sequence consisting of a compound verb construction cannot be broken up by any other sentence constituent. On the other hand, no verb element of the compound verb construction can be moved.

In contrast, the two-verb sequence which consists of a non-finite verb form with adverbial function as the first element and a verb with lexical function as the second element can be broken up. Further, its first verb element can be moved, as illustrated by examples (443) and (444). The grammatical behavior of the compound verb construction suggests thus a syntactic structure as given under (440). The main verb V_1 and the auxiliary verb V_0 are not immediate constituents of S. Both elements combine to one verbal constituent $V\text{-}_0$. For this reason the first verb, that is the main verb V_1, cannot be moved over the second verb and no other sentence constituent, like an adverbial adjunct, can occur between the two verbs. On the other hand, since the first verb of the second two-verb sequence, illustrated under (442), can be moved over the second verb and other sentence elements can occur between the two verbs, both verbs of this sequence have to be immediate constituents of S and do thus not combine to one verbal constituent. The first verb in non-finite form occurs as reduced non-finite clause, consisting of a predicate only. Thus the verbal participle *nimir-ntu* in (442) occurs as embedded verbal participle clause S_1 with adverbial function before the finite verb

V_0 and is, therefore, an immediate constituent of S_0, as represented by the following diagram.

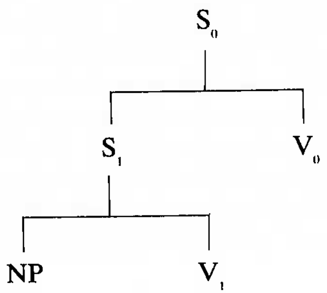
(447)



In the foregoing discussion we presented one argument for a constituent structure in which a compound verb construction, that is the two-verb sequence of a main verb and an auxiliary verb, occurs as one verbal constituent: $[_V$ V V], as given under (440). For further arguments see Steever (1983). It has to be noted, however, that the grammatical behavior of compound verb constructions which argues for them to be analyzed as one verbal constituent is assigned by Steever to those compound verb constructions only in which the first or main verb appears in verbal participle form. Here on the other hand, we assume that this grammatical behavior can be assigned to all compound verb constructions, as we have demonstrated in the case of free word order and scrambling. We assume, therefore, that the structure $[_V$ V V] applies to all compound verb constructions on surface structure.

Steever (1983) shows also that on another level of representation there is a structure in which the main verb and the auxiliary verb do not form one verbal constituent. Instead, the auxiliary verb occurs as higher or superordinate verb, taking a sentential complement whose predicate is the main verb. Such a structure can be represented for an intransitive auxiliary verb, which takes only one argument as follows:

(448)



Applying this structure to sentence (441), the auxiliary verb *iru* occurs as higher verb V_0, taking only a sentential complement S_1 as argument, which consists of the subject NP *kumaar* and the verb *vaa* V_1. The latter appears in verbal participle form, rendering the sentential complement as verbal participle clause. Steever presents again a number of arguments supporting such a bi-sentential structure of the compound verb construction on an underlying level of representation. Of these we will illustrate here the one of subcategorization.

Note that in a clause with a compound verb construction as predicate it is the main verb only, and not the auxiliary verb, which subcategorizes the arguments and adverbial adjuncts. Consider, for example, (441), repeated here again for convenience as (449):

(449) *kumaar va-ntu iru-kkiṟ-aaṉ*
Kumar come-vbp be-pres-3sm
'Kumar has come.'

In this sentence the adverbial adjunct *veekam-aaka* 'fast', for instance, may optionally occur, as shown by the following example:

(450) *kumaar veekam-aaka va-ntu iru-kkiṟ-aaṉ*
Kumar speed-adv come-vbp be-pres-3sm
'Kumar has come fast.'

Now observe that it is the main verb *vaa* 'come' and not the auxiliary verb *iru* 'be', which subcategorizes the adverbial adjunct *veekam-aaka*. Independently, the main verb *vaa*, but not the auxiliary verb *iru*, allows for the optional occurrence of *veekam-aaka*:

(451) a. *kumaar veekam-aaka va-nt-aaṉ*
Kumar speed-adv come-pst-3s
'Kumar came fast.'

b. * *kumaar veekam-aaka iru-kkiṟ-aaṉ*
Kumar speed-adv be-pres-3sm

Likewise, it is the main verb which subcategorizes direct objects, as shown by (452b), and not the auxiliary verb, as shown by (452c):

(452) a. *kumaar oru pustakam paṭi-ttu iru-kkiṟ-aaṉ*
Kumar a book study-vbp be-pres-3sm
'Kumar has read a book.'

b. *kumaar oru pustakam paṭi-tt-aan̲*
Kumar a book read-pst-3sm
'Kumar read a book.'

c. * *kumaar oru pustakam iru-kkir̲-aan̲*
Kumar a book be-pres-3sm

Since the main verb subcategorizes arguments and adverbial adjuncts, Steever argues that there must be a structure on a level of representation where the main verb and the arguments and adverbial adjuncts form one constituent that excludes the auxiliary verb. Such a structure is given by (448), where S_1 is one constituent, consisting of the main verb V_1 and the subject argument, to the exclusion of the auxiliary verb V_0, which occurs as higher verb. Turning to auxiliary verbs, we notice that they have their own subcategorization features. Modal auxiliaries, for example, subcategorize for a sentential complement—an infinitive clause. This is illustrated by the modal auxiliary verb *veeṇṭu* under (438b), repeated here as (453a). Modal auxiliaries cannot combine with simple NPs, as shown by (453b).

(453) a. *kumaar var-a veeṇṭ-um*
Kumar come-inf want-fu+3sn
'Kumar must come.'

b. * *kumaar veeṇṭ-um*
Kumar want-fu+3sn

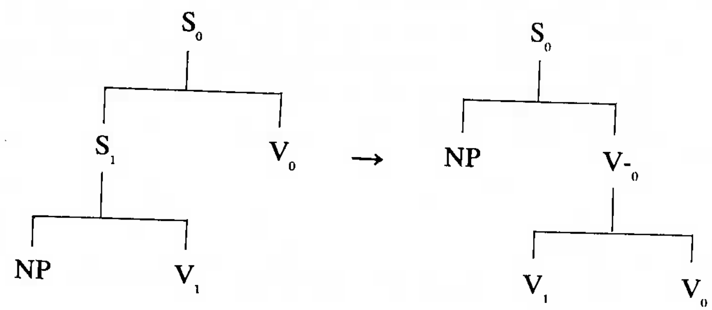
The constituency of such a sentential complement of the modal auxiliary is shown by the structure on underlying level given under (448). On the level of surface structure, however, the constituency of a sentential complement is eliminated—in the course of a derivational process to which we will turn below—and the predicate of the sentential complement, that is the main verb, occurs together with the auxiliary verb as one verbal constituent, as shown under (440). We will then assume that all clauses with a compound verb construction have a bi-sentential structure on an underlying level of representation, in which the auxiliary verb occurs as higher verb taking, a sentential complement. Here we will give an additional argument for the bi-sentential underlying structure. This argument comes from co-ordination and, interestingly, will show that an auxiliary verb does not always combine with the main verb to one verbal constituent on surface structure, but can also combine with a sentential complement, as it does on underlying structure. Consider the following example:

(454) *raataa in̲imai·y-aaka·p paaṭ-i·y-um nan̲r̲-aaka*
Radha sweetness-adv sing-vbp-co goodness-adv
aaṭ-i·y-um iru-kkir̲-aaḷ
dance-vbp be-pres-3sf
'Radha has sung sweet and danced well.'

In (454) the auxiliary verb *iru* does not combine with one main verb to a compound verb construction. Instead, it combines with a sentential complement, which consists of a co-ordinated structure: two verbal participle clauses *raataa in̲imai·y-aaka·p paaṭ-i* and *nan̲r̲-aaka aaṭ-i* are co-ordinated with the co-ordinating clitic *-um*, which occurs after each constituent conjoined. Note that this sentence is not derived from the co-ordination of two finite clauses with a compound verb construction as predicate, e.g. *raataa in̲imai·y-aaka·p paaṭ-i iru-kkir̲-aaḷ* 'Radha has sung sweet' and *raataa nan̲r̲-aaka aaṭ-i iru-kkir̲-aaḷ* 'Radha has danced well', by means of Conjunction Reduction, which deletes not only the identical subject NP *raataa*, but also the identical auxiliary verb *iru* in one clause. The reason is that two finite clauses cannot be co-ordinated in Tamil. The co-ordinating clitic *-um* can only conjoin two non-finite clauses, among other constituents, but not two finite clauses. For example, it conjoins two verbal participle clauses, as in (454). In this example, the co-ordinated structure consists of two non-finite clauses, which occur as a complement. Thus the auxiliary verb *iru* does not take a simple clause as sentential complement—as it does in the underlying structure of (448)—but a complement which consists of a co-ordinated structure.

Next we will turn to the mediation between the complex structure of a compound verb construction on underlying level, such as given under (488), and the simplex structure of a compound verb construction on surface level, as given under (440). For the derivation of (440) from a structure like (448) Steever proposes the rule of Predicate Raising (also known as Verb Raising). This process is represented by (455):

(455)



Verb Raising adjoins the verb of the lower clause S_1, that is (the main verb) V_1, to the higher (auxiliary) verb V_0, and thereby creates a new verb constituent $V\text{-}_0$, the compound verb construction. As a consequence of Verb Raising, the sentence constituent S_1 is eliminated and the arguments of the raised verb V_1 float up to the matrix clause S_0.

The sofar given analysis of the syntax of compound verb constructions can be applied to the majority of compound verb constructions. However, there are also a number of auxiliary verbs with more complex structures—see Steever (1983:155). In addition, there are also a few compound verb constructions in which the main verb consists of a nominalized verb form. Incidentally, in these cases the auxiliary verb consists always of the verb *aaku*. These compound verb constructions require a different syntactic analysis, which we will present when we deal with the respective constructions.

After the discussion of the syntax of compound verb constructions, we will give now a list of the auxiliary verbs involved in these constructions. Hereby we will classify the auxiliary verbs according to the grammatical categories they express. As mentioned above, auxiliaries express the categories of aspect, mood, passive voice, causation, negative polarity, and attitude. A few auxiliaries, however, express semantic concepts which cannot be classified with categories available in grammatical theories. These can only be negatively described and we will refer to them as non-attitudinals. A list of auxiliary verbs is given in Table 17. In the following sections the occurrences of the various auxiliary verbs will be discussed.

Aspectual auxiliaries

3.9

Whereas the category of tense refers to the time of a situation (action, event, or state) expressed by the verb in relation to the moment of utterance, the category of aspect refers to the internal temporal structure of the situation expressed by the verb. Thus aspect describes a situation, for example, as on-going = progressive aspect, or as completed = perfective aspect, etc. Aspectual auxiliaries in Tamil do, however, not only express the various aspectual distinctions, but, depending on context, also other semantic concepts.

3.10

Vbp + *iru*

The verb *iru* 'be' occurs as auxiliary verb, combining with a main verb in

TABLE 17. **Auxiliary verbs**

Category	Auxiliary verb
Aspect	*aaku* *aayirṟu* *iru* *viṭu*
Mood	*-aam* *aakaatu* *iru* *kuuṭu* *-ṭṭum* *paar* *poo/vaa* *maaṭṭu* *muṭi* *veeṇṭu*
Passive voice	*paṭu*
Causation	*vai, cey, paṇṇu*
Negative polarity	*illai*
Attitude	*kiṭa* *kiẓi* *taḷḷu* *tiir* *tolai* *poo* *pooṭu*
Non-attitude	*aẓu* *koṭu* *koḷ* *paar* *vai*

verbal participle form, to express the perfect and progressive aspect, depending on the aspectual class of the main verb. In certain contexts the auxiliary verb *iru* has also a non-aspectual function: it can express supposition and indirect knowledge of the speaker.

When the auxiliary verb *iru* occurs with non-stative main verbs, it expresses the perfect (Steever 1983:308). Examples:

(456) a. *kumaar maturai-kku·p pooy iru-kkir̲-aan̲*
Kumar Madurai-dat go+vbp be-pres-3sm
'Kumar has gone to Madurai.'

b. *appootu kumaar anta·k kaṭita-tt-ai*
that time Kumar that letter-obl-acc
ezut-i iru-nt-aan̲
write-vbp be-pst-3sm
'At that time Kumar had written the letter.'

c. *aṭutta maatam kumaar aayiram ruupaay*
next month Kumar thousand rupee
campati-ttu iru-pp-aan̲
earn-vbp be-fu-3sm
'Next month Kumar will have earned one thousand rupees.'

When the auxiliary verb *iru* occurs with stative main verbs, however, it expresses the progressive aspect (Steever 1983:306). Examples:

(457) a. *kumaar naar̲kaali·y-il uṭkaar-ntu iru-kkir̲-aan̲*
Kumar chair-loc sit-vbp be-pres-3sm
'Kumar is sitting on the chair.'

b. *kumaar eṅkaḷ viiṭ·ṭ-il taṅk-i iru-kkir̲-aan̲*
Kumar we(obl) house-loc stay-vbp be-pres-3sm
'Kumar is staying in our house.'

Steever notes that if the situation expressed by the stative main verb, e.g. *uṭkaar* 'sit' in (457a), is not interpreted as a state, but as an accomplishment, *iru* expresses the perfect. Thus (457a) can both mean 'Kumar is sitting on the chair' and 'Kumar has sat down on the chair', depending on the interpretation of the main verb.

Annamalai (1982:154) and Steever (1983:312) observe that the auxiliary verb *iru* can also have a non-aspectual function: when inflected for present tense, it expresses that the speaker has indirect evidence for what he asserts, e.g. he knows something from hearsay. See the following example from Steever (1983:300):

(458) *appaa neer̲r̲u viiṭ·ṭu-kku va-ntu iru-kkir̲-aar*
father yesterday house-dat come-vbp be-pres-3sh
'Father came home yesterday (I have indirect proof).'

When the auxiliary verb *iru* is inflected for future tense, a still lesser degree of evidence is expressed: *iru* indicates that the speaker makes a supposition. Annamalai (1982:155) gives the following example:

(459) *neer̲r̲u raatiri mazai pey-tu iru·kk-um*
yesterday night rain fall-vbp be-fu+3sn
'It has probably rained last night.'

The auxiliary verb *iru* is one of the two auxiliary verbs which occur also after a main verb in negative verbal participle form. In this case, it expresses the progressive aspect, as in (460) or the progressive perfect, as in (461).

(460) *kumaar veelai cey·y-aa-mal iru-kkir̲-aan̲*
Kumar work do-neg-vbp be-pres-3sm
'Kumar is (nowadays) not working.'

(461) *kumaar oru maatam-aaka oru kaṭitam-um an̲upp-aa-mal*
Kumar a month-adv a letter-incl send-neg-vbp
iru-kkir̲-aan̲
be-pres-3sm
'Kumar hasn't been sending a letter for a month.'

3.11 Vbp + *koṇ-ṭu* + *iru*

The verb *koḷ* 'hold' occurs as non-attitudinal auxiliary verb, as discussed under 3.40. The same verb occurs also as aspectual auxiliary verb with its verbal participle form *koṇ-ṭu* when followed by the auxiliary verb *iru*. The sequence of the two auxiliary verbs *koṇ-ṭu* + *iru*, following a main verb in verbal participle form, expresses the progressive aspect—irrespective of whether the main verb is stative or non-stative. Examples:

(462) a. *kumaar tiṇṇaiy-il uṭkaar-ntu koṇ-ṭu iru-kkir̲-aan̲*
Kumar porch-loc sit-vbp hold-vbp be-pres-3sm
'Kumar is sitting on the porch.'

b. *aar̲u maṇi-kku·k kumaar paṭi-ttu·k koṇ-ṭu iru-nt-aan̲*
six hour-dat Kumar read-vbp hold-vbp be-pst-3sm
'At six o'clock Kumar was reading.'

When the auxiliary verb *iru* is inflected for present tense, as in (462a), the action or event occurs at the moment of speaking. When the auxiliary verb *iru* is inflected for past tense, as in (462b), the action or event is

on-going at the moment of another temporal point in the past. On the other hand, when *iru* is inflected for the future tense, as in (463) below, the action or event is on-going at the time of a temporal point in the future and may also be a habitual, regular action, or may be supposed by the speaker.

(463) *caayaṅkaalam kumaar kuuṭṭa-tt-il*
evening Kumar meeting-obl-loc
peec-i·k koṇ-ṭu iru-pp-aan̲
talk-vbp hold-vbp be-fu-3sm
'In the evening Kumar will be (might be) talking at the meeting.'

In this compound verb construction, the auxiliary verb form *koṇ-ṭu* can be followed by the emphatic clitic *-ee*. The attachment of the clitic *-ee* expresses (i) the durative aspect of the action or event, that is relates the on-going action or event not to a temporal point, but to a period of time, and (ii) the negative attitude of the speaker towards the action or event and its duration. Example:

(464) *maaṇavar-kaḷ vakupp-il peec-i·k koṇ-ṭ-ee*
student-pl class-loc talk-vbp hold-vbp-emph
iru-kkir̲-aarkaḷ
be-pres-3pl
'The students keep on talking during class.'

3.12
Vbp + *koṇ-ṭu* + *vaa*

The verb *vaa* 'come' occurs as auxiliary verb after the auxiliary verb form *koṇ-ṭu*. The sequence of *koṇ-ṭu* + *vaa*, following a main verb in verbal participle form, expresses the durative aspect, that is, an on-going action or event is related to a period of time. Examples:

(465) a. *taattaa oru maṇi neera-ttu-kku meelee katai-kaḷ-ai*
grandpa a hour time-obl-dat more story-pl-acc
coll-i·k koṇ-ṭu va-nt-aar
tell-vbp hold-vbp come-pst-3sh
'Grandpa kept on telling stories for more than an hour.'

b. *vilai eer̲-i·k koṇ-ṭu var-um*
price rise-vbp hold-vbp come-fu+3sn
'The prices keep on rising.'

The same sequence of auxiliary verbs expresses also the iterative aspect, that is the repeated or regular occurrence of an action or event during a period of time. Hereby, the auxiliary verb form *koṇ-ṭu* is optional. Examples:

(466) a. *anta·k kaala-tt-il elloor-um vir̲ak-aal*
that time-obl-loc everyone-incl firewood-inst
cameyal cey-tu(·k koṇ-ṭu) va-nt-aarkaḷ
cooking do-vbp hold-vbp come-pst-3pl
'In those days everyone used to cook with firewood.'

b. *cir̲iya vayat-il naan̲ aṭikkaṭi vaan̲ooli·y-il*
small age-loc I often radio-loc
paaṭ-i(·k koṇ-ṭu) va-nt-een̲
sing-vbp hold-vbp come-pst-1s
'When I was young, I used to sing often on the radio.'

3.13
Vbp + *viṭu*

The verb *viṭu* 'leave' occurs after a main verb in verbal participle form as auxiliary verb. When inflected for past tense, *viṭu* expresses the perfective aspect (Annamalai 1982:103), that is, an action or event has been completed within a point or period of time. *viṭu* indicates thus a complete action or event. Examples:

(467) a. *kumaar inta naaval-ai·p paṭi-ttu viṭ·ṭ-aan̲*
Kumar this novel-acc read-vbp leave-pst-3sm
'Kumar has read this novel.'

b. *kumaar pooy viṭ·ṭ-aan̲*
Kumar go+vbp leave-pst-3sm
'Kumar has left.'

Steever (1983:326) notes that the auxiliary verb *viṭu* can also express—in addition to the perfective aspect—the concept of unexpectedness by the speaker. Example:

(468) *kumaar neer̲r̲u va-ntu viṭ·ṭ-aan̲*
Kumar yesterday come-vbp leave-pst-3sm
'Kumar came yesterday, unexpectedly.'

When the auxiliary verb *viṭu* is inflected for future tense, the completion of an action or event in the future is expressed. This implies for the speaker that the action or event will definitely occur (Annamalai 1982:120). This gives a sense of definiteness, as in the following example:

(469) *kumaar uṅkaḷ-ai·k kuuppiṭ·ṭu viṭu-v-aaṉ*
Kumar you(pl)-acc call-vbp leave-fu-3sm
'Kumar will definitely call you.'

Finally, when the auxiliary verb *viṭu* occurs with its verbal participle form in a verbal participle clause adjoined as complement to a main clause—see 4.20, the completive aspect of *viṭu* expresses in the context of complementation the relation of temporal succession, as translated by 'and then' or 'after' in English. Example:

(470) *kumaar kuḷi-ttu viṭ·ṭu tuuṅk-iṉ-aaṉ*
Kumar bathe-vbp leave-vbp sleep-pst-3sm
'After taking a bath, Kumar slept.'

3.14
Vbp + *aay-iṟ-ṟu*
The verb *aaku* 'become' occurs as auxiliary verb after a main verb in verbal participle form with one inflected verb form only: *aay-iṟ-ṟu*. This is the form inflected for past tense, third person, singular number, and neuter gender. This auxiliary verb form expresses the perfect. As such, it occurs, however, only with affective main verbs (Steever 1983:374). This means *aay-iṟ-ṟu* indicates the completion of an event rather than an action. As noted by Annamalai (1982:133), the completion of an event is anticipated, e.g. expected, by the speaker. Examples:

(471) a. *paalkaaraṉ va-ntu aay-iṟ-ṟu*
milkman come-vbp become-pst-3sn
'The milkman has come (as expected).'

b. *kumaar vaaṭakai koṭu-ttu aay-iṟ-ṟu*
Kumar rent give-vbp become-pst-3sn
'Kumar has given the rent (as expected).'

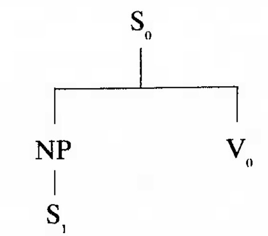
3.15
Vn + *aaku*
The verb *aaku* occurs also as auxiliary verb with its finite past tense

forms after a main verb in verbal noun form with the nominalizing suffix *-al*. Hereby it expresses the inceptive aspect. Example:

(472) *kumaar kuuṭṭa-tt-il peec-al aa-ṉ-aaṉ*
Kumar meeting-obl-loc speak-nom become-pst-3sm
'Kumar started speaking at the meeting.'

This compound verb construction requires a slightly different syntactic analysis from the one given under 3.8. The auxiliary verb *aaku* does not take a sentential complement S in underlying structure, but a nominalized clause, that is an NP, as shown by the following configuration:

(473)



On surface structure, however, the auxiliary verb V_0 and the predicate of the nominalized clause S_1, which occurs in verbal noun form, that is the main verb, occur as one verbal constituent. This suggests that the process of Verb Raising can also apply to verbs which occur in verbal noun form in nominalized clauses. Finally note that there are two more instances of the verb *aaku* occurring as auxiliary verb, which combines with a nominalized main verb. They will be given under 3.22 and 3.23.

Modal auxiliaries
3.16
The category of mood characterizes the actuality or non-actuality of an event. There is thus a basic distinction between realis or indicative mood, evaluating an event as actual, and irrealis mood, evaluating an event as not completely actual. Since there are several ways in which an event can be less than completely actual, the irrealis mood distinguishes several subtypes of modality, such as possibility, necessity, obligation, permission, desideration, intention, etc. These modalities are expressed by auxiliary verbs in Tamil. Formally, these auxiliary verbs can be distinguished into three groups.

The first group involves three auxiliary verbs with defective morphology: *veeṇṭu*, *kuuṭu*, and *muṭi*. As finite verbs these auxiliary verbs can only be inflected for third person, singular number, and neuter gender.

The second group consists of auxiliary verbs which occur as such with one inflected form only. These are the verb *oṭṭu* inflected for future tense and third person, singular number, and neuter gender—phonologically reduced to the the form *-ṭṭ-um*, and the verb *aaku* inflected for the following two forms: (i) future tense and third person, singular number, neuter gender—phonologically reduced to *-aam*, and (ii) negative polarity, and third person, singular number, neuter gender, that is *aak-aa-tu*. Each of the latter two forms expresses a different modality. Finally, a third group of modal auxiliaries—*poo*, *vaa*, *iru*, and *paar* occur as finite verbs with all tense and pronominal suffixes.

3.17
Inf + *veeenṭ-um, veenṭ-aam*

The defective verb *veenṭu* 'request, want' occurs with its positive finite form *veenṭ-um* and its irregular negative finite verb form *veenṭ-aam*—see 1.61—as auxiliary verb after a main verb in infinitive form. Hereby it expresses the modalities of (i) internal obligation (imposed by the speaker), (ii) negation of external obligation, and (iii) desideration (duty, advice). Examples:

(474) a. internal obligation

kumaar ippootu viiṭ·ṭu-kku·p poo·k-a veenṭ-um
Kumar now house-dat go-inf want-fu+3sn
'Kumar must go home now.'

b. negation of external obligation

nii iṉimeel inta marunt-ai·c caappiṭ-a veenṭ-aam
you further this medicine-acc eat-inf want-neg+3sn
'From now on you don't need to take this medicine anymore.'

(475) desideration

a. duty

nii uṉ kaṭaṉ-ai·t tiruppi·k koṭu·kk-a veenṭ-um
you you(obl) debt-acc back give-inf want-fu+3sn
'You should pay back your debts.'

b. advice

kumaar rest eṭu·kk-a veenṭ-um
Kumar rest take-inf want-fu+3sn
'Kumar should take rest.'

3.18
Inf + *veenṭ-i·y-atu/veenṭ-i + iru/vaa*

Paramasivam (1983:136) notes that a main verb in infinitive form can be followed by an auxiliary verb sequence consisting of the auxiliary verb *veenṭu* in past verbal noun oder verbal participle form, that is *veenṭ-i·y-atu* or *veenṭ-i*, and the auxiliary verb *iru* or *vaa*. In this case the sequence of the two auxiliary verbs expresses external obligation, that is obligation imposed by outer circumstances or authority. Example:

(476)

kumaar iṉṟu kuuṭṭa-tt-il peec-a { *veenṭ-i·y-atu* request-pst-nom / *veenṭ-i* request-vbp }
Kumar today meeting-obl-loc talk-inf

{ *iru-kkiṟ-atu* be-pres-3sn / *var-um* come-fu+3s }

'Kumar has to talk at the meeting today.'

3.19
Inf + *kuuṭu*

The verb *kuuṭu* 'join' occurs as a defective auxiliary verb after a main verb in infinitive form. Hereby, it expresses the following modalities: (i) circumstantial possibility, (ii) obligation, (iii) desideration, and (iv) permission. Whereas the first modality is expressed in positive polarity with a positive verb form, the latter three modalities are expressed in negative polarity with a negative verb form, resulting in the prohibitive meanings of (ii) negative obligation, (iii) negative desideration, and (iv) negation of permission. See the following examples for illustration:

(477) circumstantial possibility

inta eeri·y-il niiccal aṭi·kk-a·k kuuṭ-um
this lake-loc swimming beat-inf join-fu+3sn
'One can swim in this lake.'

(478) a. negative obligation

niiṅkaḷ iṅkee veekam-aaka ooṭṭ-a·k kuuṭ-aa-tu
you(pl) here speed-adv drive-inf join-neg-3sn
'You must not drive fast here.'

b. negative desideration
nii kumaar-ootu peec-a·k kuut-aa-tu
you Kumar-soc talk-inf join-neg-3sn
'You should not talk with Kumar.'

c. negation of permission
oru vaara-ttu-kku·c caikkil oott-a·k kuut-aa-tu
one week-obl-dat cycle ride-inf join-neg-3sn
'You may not cycle for a week.'

3.20
Inf + *muti*
The verb *muti* 'end' occurs as a defective auxiliary verb after a main verb in infinitive form to express the modalities of (i) ability and (ii) circumstantial possibility. Note that a compound verb construction with the auxiliary verb *muti* occurs with a subject NP inflected for either nominative or instrumental case. The auxiliary verb *muti* occurs with all the three tenses. Examples:

(479) ability
naan/ enn-aal anta muuttai·y-ai·t tuukk-a muti-nt-atu
I I-inst that sack-acc lift-inf end-pst-3sn
'I was able to lift that sack.'

(480) circumstantial possibility
ippootu inta·t teru·v-il marupatiyum nata·kk-a muti·y-um
now this road-loc again walk-inf end-fu+3sn
'Now one can walk again on this road.'

3.21
Inf + *-tt-um*
A main verb in infinitive form can be followed by the bound auxiliary verb form *-tt-um*. Paramasivam (1981:129) analyzes this auxiliary verb form as an inflected verb form of the verb *ottu* 'agree', which has been phonologically reduced to *-ttu*. The inflectional suffix *-um* in the form *-tt-um* is regarded as a plural imperative suffix, which occurs only in a very literary style of Tamil and has, therefore, not been introduced in our discussion of the imperative forms. Note that this suffix is homophonous with the suffix expressing future tense and third person, singular number, and neuter gender. Paramasivam argues for the imperative

status of this suffix since the form *-tt-um* can cooccur with the suffixal form *-een* 'why', which occurs only with imperative forms. On the other hand, the form *-tt-um* occurs also with the interrogative clitic *-aa*, which can only cooccur with indicative verb forms. This argues for the future tense and third person-singular-neuter suffix status of *-um*. The auxiliary verb form *-tt-um* expresses the modalities of (i) the hortative or optative, and (ii) desideration. When *-tt-um* expresses the hortative or optative, its subject NP has to be third person. Examples:

(481) a. third person hortative
kumaar inkee var-a-tt-um
Kumar here come-inf-agree-fu+3sn
'Let Kumar come here.'

b. third person optative
avarkal cantoosam-aaka vaaz-a-tt-um
they happiness-adv live-inf-agree-fu+3sn
'May they live in happiness.'

When the auxiliary verb form *-tt-um* occurs in an interrogative sentence of yes-no question type, formed by the interrogative clitic *-aa*, or of question word type, it expresses the modality of desideration. In the context of interrogation and with only a first or third person referent occurring as subject NP, the addressee's desideration is interrogated in regard to the occurrence of an action performed by a first or third person referent. Examples:

(482) a. *naan poo·k-a-tt-um-aa*
I go-inf-agree-fu+3sn-Q
'Shall I go?'

b. *kumaar eppootu var-a-tt-um*
Kumar what time come-inf-agree-fu+3sn
'When shall Kumar come.'

3.22
Vn + *-aam*
The verb *aaku* 'become' occurs also as a modal auxiliary verb after a main verb in verbal noun form with *-al*. In this case the verb *aaku* occurs with its form inflected for future tense and third person, singular number, and neuter gender, that is *aak-um*, which is phonologically reduced

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to *-aam*. This is the second occurrence of the auxiliary verb *aaku* combining with a main verb in verbal noun form. The auxiliary verb form *-aam* expresses the modalities of (i) circumstantial and conjectural possibility, (ii) permission, (iii) hortative, and (iv) suggestion. Examples of the first two modalities:

(483) a. circumstantial possibility
niiṅkaḷ moṭṭai maaṭi·y-il eeṟ-al-aam
you(pl) upper terrace-loc get up-nom-become+fu+3sn
'You can go up to the terrace (e.g. there is a stairway).'

b. conjectural possibility
kumaar ippootu tuuṅk-al-aam
Kumar now sleep-nom-become+fu+3sn
'Kumar may sleep now.'

(484) permission
a. *naaṉ uḷḷee var-al-aam-aa*
I inside come-nom-become+fu+3sn-Q
'May I come in?'

b. *niiṅkaḷ it-ai ellaam caappiṭ-al-aam*
you(pl) this-acc all eat-nom-become+fu+3sn
'You can eat all this.'

When *-um* expresses the hortative meaning, the subject NP of the clause is the first person inclusive pronoun, that is its referent is speaker and addressee, e.g.

(485) *vaa-ṅkaḷ (naam) poo·k-al-aam*
come-imp+pl we go-nom-become+fu+3sn
'Come, let's go.'

Finally, the auxiliary verb form *-aam* expresses also suggestion, e.g.

(486) *kumaar oru vakkiil-ai·p paar·kk-al-aam*
Kumar a lawyer-acc see-nom-become+fu+3sn
'Kumar could contact a lawyer.'

3.23
Vn + *aak-aa-tu*
The third instance of the auxiliary verb *aaku* combining with a main

verb in verbal noun form with *-al* is when *aaku* occurs in a form inflected for negative polarity and third person, singular number, and neuter gender, that is *aak-aa-tu*. This auxiliary verb form expresses the three prohibitive senses of (i) negative obligation, (ii) negative desideration, and (iii) negative permission, as otherwise expressed by *kuuṭ-aa-tu*. Example:

(487) *poy coll-al aak-aa-tu*
lie say-nom become-neg-3sn
'One should not tell lies.'

3.24
Inf + *poo/vaa*
The verb *poo* 'go' occurs after a main verb in infinitive form to express (i) intention and (ii) prediction. With the intentive sense *poo* expresses the subject's intention to perform an action. Example:

(488) *kumaar oru viiṭu kaṭṭ-a·p poo-kiṟ-aaṉ*
Kumar a house build-inf go-pres-3sm
'Kumar is going to build a house.'

With a restricted set of verbs, intention can also be expressed by the auxiliary verb *vaa*, which literally means 'come'. See the following example.

(489) *naaṉ kumaar-ai·k keeṭ·k-a varu-kiṟ-eeṉ*
I Kumar-acc ask-inf come-pres-1s
'I am going to ask Kumar.'

With the predictive sense *poo* expresses the speaker's certainty that an action or event will happen in the future, e.g.

(490) *ippootu maẓai pey·y-a·p poo-kiṟ-atu*
now rain fall-inf go-pres-3sn
'It is going to rain now.'

3.25
Inf + *iru*
The verb *iru* 'be' occurs also as modal auxiliary after a main verb in infinitive form to express the subject's intention and plan to perform an action. Example:

(491) *kumaar oru viiṭu kaṭṭ-a iru-kkiṟ-aaṉ*
Kumar a house build-inf be-pres-3sm
'Kumar intends/plans to build a house.'

3.26
Inf + *paar*
The verb *paar* 'see' occurs as modal auxiliary verb after a verb in infinitive form to express intentional attempt. Example:

(492) *kumaar tirukkural paṭi·kk-a·p paar-tt-aaṉ*
Kumar Tirukural read-inf see-pst-3sm
aaṉaal pustakam kiṭai·kk-a·v-ill-ai
but book get-inf-be not-3pln
'Kumar tried to read Tirukural, but didn't get a copy.'

3.27
Inf + *maaṭṭu*
The defective verb *maaṭṭu* 'will' occurs after a main verb in infinitive form as auxiliary verb, expressing the modality of willingness. Hereby it is always inflected as negative verb—see 1.58—and expresses thus negative willingness, refusal, or simply negation in the future. Example:

(493) *kumaar var-a maaṭṭ-aaṉ*
Kumar come-inf will-3sm
'Kumar won't come.'

3.28
Passive auxiliary
The verb *paṭu* 'experience' occurs as auxiliary verb after a main verb in infinitive form to express the passive voice. Compare the following pair of active and passive sentences.

(494) a. *appaa kumaar-ai aṭi-tt-aaṉ*
father Kumar-acc beat-pst-3sm
'Father beat Kumar.'

b. *kumaar appaa·v-aalaṭi·kk-a·p paṭ·ṭ-aaṉ*
Kumar father-inst beat-inf experience-pst-3sm
'Kumar was beaten by father.'

As shown by these sentences, the patient noun phrase, which occurs as direct object in the active sentence, becomes the subject in the passive sentence and the agent noun phrase, which is the subject in the active sentence, becomes an instrumental noun phrase in the passive sentence.

3.29
Causative auxiliaries
The verbs *vai* 'put', *cey*, and *paṇṇu*, both meaning 'do', occur as causative auxiliary verbs and form with a main verb in infinitive form a periphrastic causative construction.

Causation represents two events: the causing event and the caused event. The causative auxiliary verb combines in underlying structure with a subject noun phrase and a sentential complement. The subject noun phrase of the causative verb expresses the causer and both the subject and causative predicate express the causing event. The sentential complement expresses the caused event, which has its own subject—the causee. See the following examples:

(495) a. *Kumar va-nt-aaṉ*
Kumar come-pst-3sm
'Kumar came.'

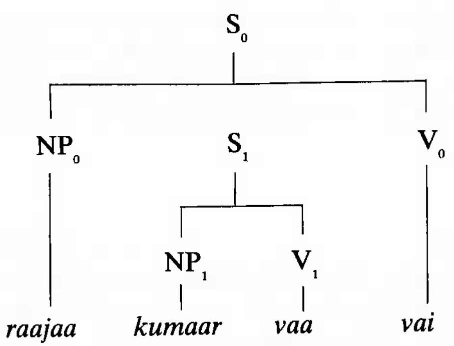
b. *raajaa kumaar-ai var-a vai-tt-aaṉ*
Raja Kumar-acc come-inf put-pst-3sm
'Raja made Kumar come.'

(496) a. *kumaar-ukku it-ai·p puri-nt-atu*
Kumar-dat this-acc understand-pst-3sn
'Kumar understood this.'

b. *raajaa kumaar-ukku it-ai·p puri·y-a vai-tt-aaṉ*
Raja Kumar-dat this-acc understand-inf put-pst-3sm
'Raja made Kumar understand this.'

In (495b) and (496b) the NP *raajaa* represents the causer and is the subject of the auxiliary verb in underlying structure, while the NP *kumaar* represents the causee and is the subject of the verb *vaa* and *puri* of the embedded clause, expressing the caused event. The underlying structure of (495b), for instance, can be represented by the following diagram.

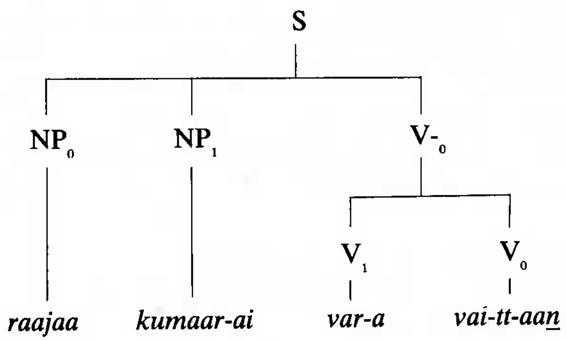
(497)



In (497) S_0 represents the causing event with the subject NP *raajaa* as causer and the auxiliary verb *vai* as the causative predicate. S_1 represents the caused event with the subject NP *kumaar* as the causee.

On surface structure, however, a causative construction is a simplex clause and the verb of the embedded clause (the caused event) forms one compound verb construction with the causative auxiliary verb. This is achieved by Verb Raising as described under 3.8. The surface structure of (495b) can then be represented as follows:

(498)



Interesting in the causative construction is the case marking of the subject NP of the caused event, that is of the causee. Notice that in (495b) the causee *kumaar* is inflected for accusative case and appears to be the direct object of the clause, while in (496b) the causee *kumaar* is inflected for dative case. The dative case of the causee NP in (496b) follows from the case assignment rule of verbal predicates. The stative verb *puri* 'understand', which occurs in the sentence pattern NP dative + NP accusative + V, has the lexical property of assigning dative case to its subject NP. Thus the verb *puri* assigns dative case to the NP *kumaar*

since this NP occurs as its subject in underlying structure. In (495b) the NP *kumaar* occurs as subject of the verb *vaa* 'come' in underlying structure, as shown by (497). The verb *vaa* does not have the lexical property of assigning case to its subject NP. Remember that a NP to which no case assignment rule has laid claim appears then automatically in nominative case—the unmarked case form in Tamil. Consequently, we would expect the subject NP of the verb *vaa* to appear in this form. However, it appears in accusative case. As suggested by Sanford Steever (p.c.), since the verbal predicate of the embedded clause, that is *vaa* in (497), does not assign case to its subject NP, it may be possible for the higher causative verb to assign case to this NP. On this assumption, the causative verb assigns accusative case to that NP which appears on surface structure as its additional argument. Note in this context that derived causative verbs, which, as mentioned, do hardly occur in Modern Tamil anymore, do also assign accusative case to the additional argument NP, as shown by the following example:

(499) a. *kumaar paṭi-tt-aan̲*
Kumar study-pst-3sm
'Kumar studied.'

b. *raajaa kumaar-ai·p paṭi-ppi-tt-aan̲*
Raja Kumar-acc study-caus-pst-3sm
'Raja made Kumar study.'

In (496b) the auxiliary verb does not assign accusative case to the additional argument NP (= the subject of the embedded clause) since that NP has already been assigned dative case on underlying structure.

3.30
Negative auxiliary

The defective verb *il* 'be not', discussed under 1.60, occurs with its finite verb form unmarked for tense, that is *ill-ai*, as auxiliary verb after a main verb in infinitive form and expresses negative polarity 'not'. Example:

(500) *kumaar neer̲r̲u var-a·v-ill-ai*
Kumar yesterday come-inf-be not-3pln
'Kumar did not come yesterday.'

Attitudinal auxiliaries
3.31
The category of attitude, as proposed by Steever (1983:417), characterizes the speaker's subjective evaluation, that is the speaker's personal opinion, of the event expressed by the clause.

3.32
Vbp + *tolai*
The verb root *tolai* occurs both as an affective verb (class II), meaning 'get lost', and as an effective verb (class VI), meaning 'loose'. Both verbs occur as auxiliaries after a main verb in verbal participle form to express the negative attitude of the speaker: the speaker's antipathy towards the event expressed by the clause (Annamalai 1982:71). See the following example:

(501) *kumaar ellaam coll-i·t tolai-nt-aan̲/ tolai-tt-aan̲*
Kumar everything say-vbp get lost-pst-3sm loose-pst-3sm
'Kumar told everything, damn it.'

3.33
Vbp + *pooṭu*
The verb *pooṭu* 'put' occurs as auxiliary verb after transitive main verbs in verbal participle form to express the speaker's opinion that the subject shows lack of care towards the object of the event (Annamalai 1982:68). Examples:

(502) a. *kumaar jan̲n̲al-ai muuṭ-i·p pooṭ·ṭ-aan̲*
Kumar window-acc close-vbp put-pst-3sm
'Kumar closed the window carelessly.'

b. *kumaar vaṇṭi·y-ai nir̲utt-i·p pooṭ·ṭ-aan̲*
Kumar vehicle-acc stop-vbp put-pst-3sm
'Kumar stopped the vehicle carelessly.'

3.34
Vbp + *taḷḷu*
The verb *taḷḷu* 'push' occurs as auxiliary verb after a main verb in verbal participle form to indicate that the activity of the main verb occurs at an accelerated rate or phase (Steever 1983:471). This accelaration is viewed by the speaker either positively or negatively. Examples:

(503) a. *kumaar viiṭu kaṭṭ-i·t taḷḷ-in̲-aan̲*
Kumar house build-vbp push-pst-3sm
'Kumar builds one house after another.'

b. *kumaar cikaret uut-i·t taḷḷu-kir̲-aan̲*
Kumar cigaret smoke-vbp push-pres-3sm
'Kumar smokes one cigaret after another.'

3.35
Vbp + *kiṭa*
The verb *kiṭa* 'lie' occurs as auxiliary verb with affective/stative main verbs in verbal participle form to express the progressive or durative aspect of a state. In addition it indicates the speaker's negative attitude towards the state: the speaker disapproves of it. Example:

(504) *anta ar̲ai puuṭṭ-i·k kiṭa-kkir̲-atu*
that room lock-vbp lie-pres-3sn
'The room is kept locked.'

3.36
Vbp + *kiẓi*
The effective verb *kiẓi* 'tear' occurs as auxiliary verb after a main verb in verbal participle form to express the speaker's negative opinion that the subject of the sentence will not be able to perform or accomplish the action expressed by the sentence. The auxiliary verb *kiẓi* is only inflected for past tense with time reference to past or present, or inflected for future tense with time reference to the future. Examples:

(505) a. *kumaar inta veelai·y-ai·c cey-tu kiẓi-tt-aan̲*
Kumar this work-acc do-vbp tear-pst-3sm
'Kumar was/is not able to do this work.'

b. *kumaar amerikkaa·v-ukku·p pooy kiẓi-pp-aan̲*
Kumar America-dat go-vbp tear-fu-3sm
'Kumar will not be able to go to America.'

3.37
Vbp + *poo*
The verb *poo* 'go' occurs also as an auxiliary verb after a main verb in verbal participle form. Hereby it expresses a change of state and indicates

the negative attitude of the speaker towards this change of state: the change is negative, unexpected, bad, or undesirable (Steever 1983:495). See the following examples:

(506) a. *paanai uṭai-ntu pooy-ir-ru*
pot break-vbp go-pst-3sn
'The pot got broken.'

b. *caappaaṭu aar-i·p poo·k-um*
food get cold-vbp go-fu+3sn
'The food will get cold.'

c. *caṭṭai kiẓi-ntu poo·k-a·v-ill-ai*
shirt tear-vbp go-inf-be not-3pln
'The shirt didn't get torn.'

d. *avarkaḷ aṅkee keṭ·ṭu·p poo-n-aarkaḷ*
they there get spoiled-vbp go-pst-3pl
'They got spoiled there.'

The auxiliary verb *poo* is apart from *iru* the only other auxiliary verb which occurs also with a main verb in negative verbal participle form. This is, however, restricted to clauses with dative subjects.

(507) a. *ena-kku inta vipattu teri·y-aa-mal pooy-ir-ru*
I-dat this accident know-neg-vbp go-pst-3sn
'This accident went unnoticed to me.'

b. *kumaar-ukku aẓaippu var-aa-mal pooy-ir-ru*
Kumar-dat invitation come-neg-vbp go-pst-3sn
'Kumar didn't get an invitation.'

In (507) the speaker expresses his negative attitude to the state of not-knowing the accident and to Kumar's not having got an invitation.

3.38
Vbp + *tiir*
The verb *tiir* 'exhaust' occurs as auxiliary verb after effective main verbs in verbal participle form to express the speaker's attitude that the subject has stopped an action by expending himself fully in it (Steever 1983:487) and got rid of an emotion, e.g. sorrow or anger. Examples:

(508) a. *kumaar tiṭṭ-i·t tiir-tt-aan*
Kumar scold-vbp exhaust-pst-3sm
'Kumar scolded and got it off his chest.'

b. *avaḷ aẓu-tu tiir-tt-aaḷ*
she weep-vbp exhaust-pst-3sf
'She cried herself out (and got rid of it).'

Non-attitudinal auxiliaries
3.39
The remaining auxiliaries express semantic concepts which cannot easily be assigned to one of the grammatical categories given sofar. Therefore, we describe them negatively as non-attitudinal auxiliary verbs. They express, for example, that the subject of an action performs that action either willingly or unwillingly, for a future purpose, or for the benefit of others, etc. These auxiliary verbs, therefore, express semantic concepts which are often realized by adverbial expressions in other languages.

3.40
Vbp + *koḷ*
The verb *koḷ* 'hold' occurs as auxiliary verb after a main verb in verbal participle form to express the concept of volition. That is the subject performs an action volitionally, but not accidentally. In the case of an event, *koḷ* expresses that the event occurs on its own (Paramasivam 1979:33, 1983:247). See the following examples:

(509) a. *kumaar tan caṭṭai·y-ai·k kuppaittoṭṭi·y-il*
Kumar he(obl) shirt-acc garbage can-loc
pooṭ·ṭu·k kon-ṭ-aan
throw-vbp hold-pst-3sm
'Kumar threw his shirt willfully into the garbage can.'

b. *naan naṭa-ntu koḷ-v-een*
I walk-vbp hold-fu-1s
'I will walk on my own.'

c. *un caṭṭai·y-ai·k kaẓaṭṭ-i·k koḷ*
you(obl) shirt-acc take off-vbp hold
'Take off your shirt if you want.'

d. *jan̲n̲al tiṟa-ntu koṇ-ṭ-atu*
window open-vbp hold-pst-3sn
'The window opened on its own.'

As will be discussed under 5.2, the auxiliary verb *koḷ* expresses also a reflexive meaning. Moreover, *koḷ* occurs with its verbal participle form *koṇ-ṭu* in complement clauses to express the temporal relation of simultaneity 'while'—see 4.20.

3.41
Vbp/Inf + ***aẓu***
The verb *aẓu* 'weep' occurs as an auxiliary verb to express the concept of unwillingness. That is to say that the subject performs an action unwillingly or is unwilling to perform an action.

When *aẓu* follows a main verb in verbal participle form, the concept that an action is performed unwillingly is expressed. Examples:

(510) a. *kumaar paṇam koṭu-ttu aẓu-t-aan̲*
Kumar money give-vbp weep-pst-3sm
'Kumar gave the money unwillingly.'

b. *kumaar nakai-kk-aaka·p pattaayiram ruupaay*
Kumar jewel-dat-ben ten thousand rupee
celavau cey-tu aẓu-t-aan̲
expenses do-vbp weep-pst-3sm
'Unwillingly Kumar spent ten thousand rupees for jewels.'

When the auxiliary verb *aẓu* occurs after a main verb in infinitive form, the unwillingness of the subject to perform an action is expressed. Example:

(511) *kumaar veelai-kku·p pook-a aẓu-kiṟ-aan̲*
Kumar work-dat go-inf weep-pres-3sm
'Kumar is unwilling to go to work.'

3.42
Vbp + ***paar***
The verb *paar* 'see' occurs also as an auxiliary verb after a main verb in verbal participle form. Hereby it expresses that the subject undertakes the action of the main verb to assess or judge a presupposed aspect of the action, e.g., to assess the quality of an object involved (Annamalai 1982:52). Examples:

(512) a. *kumaar caṭṭai·y-ai·p pooṭ-ṭu·p paar-tt-aan̲*
Kumar shirt-acc put-vbp see-pst-3sm
'Kumar put on the shirt (e.g. to see if it fits).'

b. *kumaar inta naaval-ai·p paṭi-ttu·p paar-tt-aan̲*
Kumar this novel-acc study-vbp see-pst-3sm
'Kumar tried reading the novel (e.g. to see how it was).'

3.43
Vbp + ***vai***
The verb *vai* 'put' occurs as auxiliary verb after a main verb in verbal participle form to express that the action of the main verb has a future (anticipated) consequence, for instance, an action is performed for a future purpose, benefit, etc. (Annamalai 1982:62). See the following examples:

(513) a. *katav-ai·t tiṟa-ntu vai*
door-acc open-vbp put
'Keep the door open.'

b. *kumaar niṟaiya·p paṇam maṟai-ttu vai-tt-aan̲*
Kumar much money hide-vbp put-pst-3sm
'Kumar kept a lot of money hidden.'

c. *naan̲ kumaar-iṭam coll-i vai-tt-een̲*
I Kumar-loc say-vbp put-pst-1s
'I talked to Kumar (for a subsequent purpose).'

3.44
Vbp + ***koṭu***
The verb *koṭu* 'give' occurs as auxiliary verb to express alterbenefaction. Hereby it occurs after a main verb in verbal participle form. It indicates that an action is performed by the subject for the sake of another person, realized as indirect object (marked with dative case), so that the latter does not have to perform the action himself (Annamalai 1982:77). See the following examples:

(514) a. *raajaa kumaar-ukku·k katav-ai·t tiṟa-ntu koṭu-tt-aan̲*
Raja Kumar-dat door-acc open-vbp give-pst-3sm
'Raja opened the door for Kumar.'

b. *kumaar veelaikkaaraṉ-ukku·p pacumaaṭ·ṭ-ai·k*
Kumar servant-dat cow-acc
kara-ntu koṭu-tt-aaṉ
milk-vbp give-pst-3sm
'Kumar milked the cow for the servant.'

Steever (1983:155) observes that the auxiliary verb *koṭu* subcategorizes for an indirect object—the benefactor, for example, *kumaar-ukku* and *veelaikkaaraṉ-ukku* in (514). Thus in underlying structure, the auxiliary verb *koṭu* takes also an indirect object NP as argument.

Negation
3.45
Negation in Tamil is expressed in the following three ways:

- morphologically by a negative verbal suffix
- lexically by a negative verb
- syntactically by a negative auxiliary verb

There are, however, no negators like 'not' in English or negative quantifiers, or adverbs like 'no one' and 'nowhere'. The negative morpheme occurs thus always in the inflected verb constituent, either incorporated in the verb itself or in the inflectional part.

3.46
Morphological negation
In inflected verb forms—finite and non-finite—the negative morpheme is realized by the two allomorphs *-aa* and *-aat*, occurring as suffix after the verb stem, and also by a zero morph. As the following forms show, the two allomorphs *-aa* and *-aat* are in complimentary distribution. Whereas *-aa* occurs before consonant initial inflectional suffixes, the allomorph *-aat* occurs before a vowel initial inflectional suffix.

The negative suffix *-aa* occurs in the following two verb forms: i) tenseless finite verb form inflected for third person, singular number, and neuter gender, see 1.47. Example:

(515) *pas iṅkee var-aa-tu*
bus here come-neg-3sn
'The bus won't come here.'

ii) negative verbal participle form, see 1.51. Example:

(516) *kumaar eṉṉ-ai·p paar·kk-aa-mal poo-ṉ-aaṉ*
Kumar I-acc see-neg-vbp go-pst-3sm
'Kumar went without looking at me.'

The negative suffix *-aat*, on the other hand, occurs in the following three verb forms:
i) negative singular and plural imperative forms, see 1.35. Example:

(517) *iṅkee var-aat-ee*
here come-neg-emph
'Do not come here.'

ii) negative adjectival participle, see 1.53. Example:

(518) *kumaar paar·kk-aat-a paṭam pooy-iṟ-ṟu*
Kumar see-neg-adj movie go-pst-3sn
'The movie which Kumar didn't see has gone.'

iii) negative verbal noun, see 1.54. Example:

(519) *kumaar var-aat-atu nall-atu all-a*
Kumar come-neg-nom nice-3sn be not-3pln
'That Kumar didn't come was not nice.'

In a periphrastic construction the modal auxiliary *maaṭṭu* 'will' is inflected for negative polarity and person, number, and gender—see 1.47, 1.58, and 3.27. Hereby the negative morpheme is realized by a zero morph. Thus the person-number-gender suffix is added directly to the verb stem. Example:

(520) *kumaar var-a maaṭṭ-aaṉ*
Kumar come-inf will-3sm
'Kumar will not come.'

3.47
Negative lexical verbs
There are two negative lexical verbs in Tamil: *il* 'be not' (locative, existential, copula function) and *al* 'be not' (copula function). Both have

defective morphology and are discussed under 1.60. See the following examples with corresponding positive sentences:

(521) locative sense
a. *kumaar viiṭ·ṭ-il iru-kkiṟ-aaṉ*
Kumar house-loc be-pres-3sm
'Kumar is at home.'

b. *kumaar viiṭ·ṭ-il ill-ai*
Kumar house-loc be not-3pln
'Kumar is not at home.'

(522) existential sense
a. *peey uṇ-ṭu*
ghost exist-3sn
'Ghosts exist.'

b. *peey ill-ai*
ghost be not-3pln
'Ghosts do not exist.'

(523) copula function
a. *kumaar vakkiil*
Kumar lawyer
'Kumar is a lawyer.'

b. *kumaar vakkiil ill-ai/ all-a*
Kumar lawyer be not-3pln be not-3pln
'Kumar is not a lawyer.'

The negative lexical verb *il* 'be not' with existential sense occurs also a predicate of a subject NP consisting of a nominalized clause. In this case, it negates the existence of an event expressed by the subject verbal noun clause. Derived from this sense of non-existence is a semantic interpretation of habitual negativity. Examples:

(524) a. *kumaar koovil-ukku·p poo-kiṟ-atu ill-ai*
Kumar temple-dat go-pres-nom be not-3pln
'Kumar never goes to the temple.'

b. *kumaar koovil-ukku·p poo-ṉ-atu ill-ai*
Kumar temple-dat go-pst-nom be not-3pln
'Kumar has never gone to the temple.'

3.48
Negative auxiliary verb
As shown under 3.31, the verb *il* 'be not' occurs as negative auxiliary verb after a main verb in infinitive form, e.g.

(525) *ravi neeṟṟu/ ippootu/ naaḷai var-a·v-ill-ai*
Ravi yesterday now tomorrow come-inf-be not-3pln
'Ravi didn't come yesterday/doesn't come now/won't come tomorrow.'

As mentioned above, Tamil has no means to negate quantifiers or adverbials and also does not possess inherent negative quantifiers or adverbials. For example, there is no negated adverbial of the type 'not always', nor is there an inherent negative adverbial of the type 'never'. Take, for instance, the sentence below with the adverbial *eppootum* 'always'.

(526) *kumaar eppootum paṭi-kkiṟ-aaṉ*
Kumar always read-pres-3sm
'Kumar reads always.'

In order to get a negative version of (526) with a reading of universal negation, as expressed by an inherent negative adverbial such as 'never', Tamil uses the negative verb *il* 'be not', which predicates a nominalized clause, that is negates the existence of sentence (526). Example:

(527) *kumaar eppootum paṭi-kkiṟ-atu ill-ai*
Kumar always read-pres-nom be not-3pln
'Kumar never reads.'

To get a negative version of (526) with a reading in which the negative has higher scope than the adverbial, as expressed by a negated adverbial such as 'not always', Tamil uses the periphrastic construction with the auxiliary verb *maaṭṭu* 'will', inflected for negative polarity. Example:

(528) *kumaar eppootum paṭi·kk-a maaṭṭ-aaṉ*
Kumar always read-inf will-3sm
'Kumar won't read always/Kumar will read not always.'

Interrogation
3.49
The following subtypes of interrogatives are distinguished in Tamil:

(i) yes-no questions, (ii) information or question word questions, and (iii) alternative questions. They will be illustrated in the following.

3.50
Yes-no questions

Yes-no questions ask whether the contents of the proposition supplied by the speaker is true or not. A yes-no question in Tamil is formed by the suffixation of the interrogative clitic *-aa* to a constituent of the sentence. This clitic can be added to any constituent, except noun modifiers. The position of the clitic *-aa* indicates the focus of the question.

If the interrogative clitic *-aa* is suffixed sentence finally, that is onto the sentence final inflected verb constituent or nominal predicate, the question is interpreted as a neutral one, in which the scope of the clitic *-aa* is the whole S, that is, it interrogates the whole of the sentence. Examples:

(529) a. *kumaar vakkiil*
Kumar lawyer
'Kumar is a lawyer.'

b. *kumaar vakkiil-aa*
Kumar lawyer-Q
'Is Kumar a lawyer?'

(530) a. *kumaar neeṟṟu raajaa·v-ai aṭi-tt-aaṉ*
Kumar yesterday Raja-acc beat-pst-3sm
'Kumar beat Raja yesterday.'

b. *kumaar neeṟṟu raajaa·v-ai aṭi-tt-aaṉ-aa*
Kumar yesterday Raja-acc beat-pst-3sm-Q
'Did Kumar beat Raja yesterday?'

If the interrogative clitic *-aa* is placed on some other constituent of the sentence, a focused yes-no question results. That is, only the constituent to which the clitic *-aa* is added is interrogated, while the reminder of the proposition is presupposed. Examples:

(531) a. *kumaar neeṟṟu raajaa·v-ai·y-aa aṭi-tt-aaṉ*
Kumar yesterday Raja-acc-Q beat-pst-3sm
'Was it Raja that Kumar beat yesterday?'

b. *kumaar neeṟṟ-aa raajaa·v-ai aṭi-tt-aaṉ*
Kumar yesterday-Q Raja-acc beat-pst-3sm
'Was it yesterday that Kumar beat Raja?'

c. *kumaar-aa neeṟṟu raajaa·v-ai aṭi-tt-aaṉ*
Kumar-Q yesterday Raja-acc beat-pst-3s
'Was it Kumar that beat Raja yesterday?'

3.51
Information questions

Information or question word questions take the truth of a proposition for granted and ask for a particular information of the proposition. That is they interrogate only a constituent of the sentence. In Tamil information questions are formed by realizing the constituent to be questioned with an interrogative pro-form, which is referentially undetermined. No other devices, such as movement of constituents, etc., are used. Tamil has quite a rich number of interrogative pro-forms involving pronominals, pro-adverbials, pro-numerals, pro-adjectivals, etc. With the exception of *yaar* 'who', all interrogative pro-forms are marked with the interrogative morph *e-*, which occurs either as a stem of a pronoun, or a bound determiner of a nominal, or a word-initial vowel, see 2.11. Following is a list of interrogative pro-forms.

yaar	'who'
eṉṉa	'what'
evaṉ	'which male person'
evaḷ	'which female person'
evar	'which person (honorific)'
etu	'which'
evarkaḷ	'which persons'
evai(*kaḷ*)	'which things'
enta	'which'
eṅku	'which place, where'
eppootu	'which time, when'
eṉṟu	'which day'
evvaḷavu	'which extent, how much'
ettaṉai	'which number'
ettaṉaiyaavatu	'how manieth'
eppaṭi	'which way, how'
eppaṭippaṭṭa	'what sort of'
eeṉ	'why'

Note that Tamil has an interrogative pro-form for ordinal numerals: *ettanaiyaavatu* translated by the un-English 'how manieth'. Examples of information questions with *e-* pro-forms are given in the following.

(532) a. *kumaar neerru va-nt-aan*
Kumar yesterday come-pst-3sm
'Kumar came yesterday.'

b. *yaar neerru va-nt-aan*
who yesterday come-pst-3sm
'Who came yesterday?'

c. *kumaar eppootu va-nt-aan*
Kumar which time come-pst-3sm
'When did Kumar come?'

(533) a. *raajaa nanr-aaka·p paat-in-aan*
Raja goodness-adv sing-pst-3sm
'Raja sang well.'

b. *raajaa eppati paat-in-aan*
Raja how sing-pst-3sm
'How did Raja sing?'

(534) a. *kumaar nalla paiyan*
Kumar nice boy
'Kumar is a nice boy.'

b. *kumaar eppatippatta paiyan*
Kumar what sort of boy
'What sort of boy is Kumar?'

(535) a. *kumaar patt-aavatu vakupp-il pati-kkir-aan*
Kumar ten-ord standard-loc study-pres-3sm
'Kumar studies in the tenth standard.'

b. *kumaar ettanai·y-aavatu vakupp-il pati-kkir-aan*
Kumar how many-ord standard-loc study-pres-3s
'In which standard does Kumar study?'

(536) a. *kumaar cevvaaykkizamai varu-v-aan*
Kumar Tuesday come-fu-3sm
'Kumar will come on Tuesday.'

b. *kumaar enru-kku varu-v-aan*
Kumar which day-dat come-fu-3sm
'On what day will Kumar come?'

3.52
Alternative questions

Alternative questions provide either two alternative propositions or one proposition and its negation. The addressee is requested to commit himself to one of the alternative of the two propositions or the proposition and its negation. In Tamil alternative questions are formed by the co-ordination of two sentences with deletion of some identical material from the second sentence. Alternative questions are discussed under 4.5 when we deal with co-ordinated structures.

Chapter 4

Complex constructions

4.0
Introduction

This chapter deals with complex constructions in Tamil. First we will discuss the strategies Tamil uses to form co-ordinated structures on various levels, e.g. on the word, phrasal, and sentential level. Then we will discuss the complex sentence formation involving the embedding and adjoining of a clause (in)to another sentence, to which we will refer to as complementation in a broad sense.

Co-ordination
4.1

Co-ordination refers to the process of conjoining two or more elements of equal categorical status of the three syntactic levels—word, phrasal, sentential—to one conjoined structure, in which all elements have equal status or rank. Thus, two nouns (N) can be co-ordinated to a noun co-ordination: N $\longrightarrow$ N + N, two noun phrases (NP) can be co-ordinated to a noun phrase co-ordination: NP $\longrightarrow$ NP + NP, and two clauses (S) can be co-ordinated to a sentence co-ordination: S $\longrightarrow$ S + S. Words, phrases, and clauses are co-ordinated by co-ordinating morphemes referred to as co-ordinators, which express the semantic (logical) connections between the elements conjoined. Tamil employs two types of co-ordinators:

- the clitics *-um* 'and', *-oo* 'or', *-aavatu* 'or', and *-aa* '(whether)—or', all of which occur after each element conjoined,
- free forms, that is co-ordinating conjunctions occurring in-between the elements conjoined: *allatu* 'or', *illaiyen̲r̲aal* 'or', and *aan̲aal* 'but'.

Semantically, the following three types of co-ordination can be distinguished and will be discussed in the following:

- unmarked conjunction = 'and' co-ordination
- disjunction = 'or' co-ordination
- adversative conjunction = 'but' co-ordination

4.2
'And' co-ordination

The 'and' co-ordinator in Tamil consists of the clitic *-um*, which occurs

after each element conjoined. The minimal occurrence of *-um* is thus a pair, *-um* ... *-um*, having the meaning 'and' or 'both ... and'. We can represent 'and' co-ordination in Tamil then as follows:

X → X-*um* + X-*um*

The variable X, that is the elements which can be conjoined with *-um*, are:

- lexical categories:
  nouns (N)
  verbs (V)
  postpositions (P)
  adverbs (Adv)
- phrasal categories:
  noun phrases (NP)
  postpositional phrases (PP)
- clauses
  infinitive clauses
  verbal participle clauses

Among verb forms only infinitive and verbal participle forms can be conjoined with *-um*. Since these verb forms alone can occur as clauses, their co-ordination amounts to the co-ordination of infinitive and verbal participle clauses. See the following examples for illustration:

(537) a. noun co-ordination
en̲ [makan̲-um makaḷ-um] appuṟam varu-v-aarkaḷ
I(obl) son-co daughter-co afterwards come-fu-3pl
'My son and daughter will come afterwards.'

b. postposition co-ordination
viiṭ·ṭu-kku [mun̲n̲aalee·y-um pin̲n̲aalee·y-um]
house-dat before-co after-co
oree kuppai iru-kkiṟ-atu
very garbage be-pres-3sn
'In front of and at the back of the house, there is a lot of garbage.'

c. adverb co-ordination
kumaar [mun̲n̲-um pin̲n̲-um] caay-nt-aan̲
Kumar forward-co backward-co lean-pst-3sm
'Kumar leaned forward and backward.'

(538) a. noun phrase co-ordination
kumaar [oru meecai·y-ai·y-um iranṭu
Kumar one table-acc-co two
naaṟkaali-kaḷ-ai·y-um] vaaṅk-in̲-aan̲
chair-pl-acc-co buy-pst-3sm
'Kumar bought one table and two chairs.'

b. postpositional phrase co-ordination
[koovil-ukku mun̲n̲aalee·y-um kuḷa-ttu-kku·p
temple-dat in front of-co tank-obl-dat
pin̲n̲aalee·y-um] niṟaiya jan̲n̲aṅkaḷ nin̲-ṟ-aarkaḷ
behind-co many people stand-pst-3pl
'Many people stood in front of the temple and behind the tank.'

(539) a. infinitive clause co-ordination
kumaar [tamiẓ paṭi·kk-a·v-um viiṇai
Kumar Tamil study-inf-co Veena
vaaci·kk-a·v-um] aarampi-tt-aan̲
play-inf-co started-pst-3sm
'Kumar started studying Tamil and playing Veena.'

b. verbal participle clause co-ordination
raajaa [tiruṭ-i·y-um poy coll-i·y-um]
Raja steal-vbp-co lie say-vbp-co
aaṭ-kaḷ-ai eemaaṟṟ-in̲-aan̲
person-pl-acc cheat-pst-3sm
'Raja cheated the people by stealing and telling lies.'

Apart from infinitive and verbal participle clauses, no other clauses can be co-ordinated. As a result, Tamil has no 'and' co-ordination of sentences.

In all of the above examples, the elements conjoined belong to the same syntactic category. However, identical categorical status is a restriction for co-ordination only on the word level, but not on the phrasal or sentential level. What restricts co-ordination on the phrasal and sentential level is not the syntactic category of the elements conjoined, but their syntactic/semantic function. Thus a noun phrase and a postpositional phrase can be conjoined if they function as adverbial with identical semantic function, e.g the instrumental function, as in the following example:

(540) *kumaar [kampi·y-aal-um cuttiyal-ai·k koṇṭ-um]*
Kumar wire-inst-co hammer-acc with-co
puuṭṭ-ai·t tira-nt-aan̲
lock-acc open-pst-3sm
'Kumar opened the lock with a wire and with a hammer.'

Similarly, a noun phrase and a verbal participle clause can be conjoined when they occur with identical function, e.g. manner adverbial, as in the following example:

(541) *kumaar [maun̲a-tt-ooṭ-um kun̲i-nt-um] uṭkaar-nt-aan̲*
Kumar silence-obl-soc-co bend-vbp-co sit-pst-3sm
'Kumar was sitting bent down and with silence.'

4.3
Co-ordinated subject-verb agreement

When two or more subject noun phrases are conjoined, then a new subject verb agreement is formed. This will be illustrated in the following.

When the co-ordinated subject NP consists of rational nouns only, the verb will take the third person-plural-epicene pronominal suffix. Example.

(542) *akkaa·v-um aṇṇaan̲-um va-nt-aarkaḷ*
elder sister-co elder brother-co come-pst-3pl
'Elder sister and elder brother came.'

When the co-ordinated subject NP consists of non-rational nouns, the verb will take the third person-plural-neuter or third person-singular-neuter pronominal suffix—see Paramasivam (1980:85) for discussion. Example:

(543) *oru naay-um iraṇṭu puun̲aay-um* { *va-nt-an̲-a* come-pst-euph-3pln / *va-nt-atu* come-pst-3sn }
a dog-co two cat-co
'A dog and two cats came.'

When the co-ordinated subject NP consists of both rational and non-rational nouns, the verb takes the third person-plural-epicene pronominal suffix, as shown by the following example:

(544) *kaavalkaaran̲-um avan̲ naay-um ooṭ-in̲-aarkaḷ*
watchman-co he dog-co run-pst-3pl
'The watchman and his dog ran away.'

Turning to pronouns, when in the co-ordinated subject NP a first person pronoun is involved, the verb will take a first person plural pronominal suffix, e.g.

(545) a. *naan̲-um nii·y-um poo-kir̲-oom*
I-co you-co go-pres-1pl
'You and I will go.'

b. *kumaar-um naan̲-um varu-kir̲-oom*
Kumar-co I-co come-pres-1pl
'Kumar and I are coming.'

c. *naaṅkaḷ-um eṅkaḷ naṇpar-kaḷ-um varu-kir̲-oom*
we-co we(obl) friend-pl-co come-pres-1pl
'We and our friends are coming.'

When in the co-ordinated subject NP only second person and third person pronouns/nouns are involved, the verb will take a second person plural pronominal suffix, e.g.

(546) *nii·y-um kumaar-um va-nt-iirkaḷ-aa*
you-co Kumar-co come-pst-2pl-Q
'Did you and Kumar come?'

When in the co-ordinated subject NP only third person, masculine and feminine pronouns/nouns are involved, the verb takes the third person-plural-epicene pronominal suffix. Example:

(547) *avan̲-um avaḷ-um va-nt-aarkaḷ*
he-co she-co come-pst-3pl
'Both he and she came.'

4.4
'Or' co-ordination

There are five 'or' co-ordinators in Tamil:

- the co-ordinating conjunction word *illaiyen̲r̲aal* 'or'.
- the co-ordinating conjunction word *allatu* 'or'.

Both words occur in-between the elements conjoined.

- the clitic *-oo*,
- the clitic *-aavatu*, and
- the interrogative clitic *-aa*.

These three clitics occur after each element conjoined. According to these five co-ordinators, 'or' co-ordination in Tamil can be represented as follows:

X	→	X + *illaiyenraal*	+ X
		X + *allatu*	+ X
		X-*oo*	+ X-*oo*
		X-*aavatu*	+ X-*aavatu*
		X-*aa*	+ X-*aa*

The variable X, that is the type of elements conjoined, varies with each co-ordinator. That is to say that all five co-ordinators cannot conjoin the same elements. In the following we will illustrate the elements which can be conjoined with the two conjunctions *illaiyenraal* and *allatu* and with the two co-ordinating clitics *-oo* and *-aavatu*. The interrogative clitic *-aa* which occurs in alternative questions will be discussed separately.

Nouns can be conjoined by all the four co-ordinators *illaiyenraal*, *allatu*, *-oo*, and *-aavatu*. Example:

(548) a. *kumaar-atu [appaa illaiyenraal/ allatu ammaa]*
Kumar-gen father or or mother
varu-v-aarkaḷ
come-fu-3pl
'Kumar's father or mother will come.'

b. *kumaar-atu [appaa·v-oo/-aavatu ammaa·v-oo/-aavatu]*
Kumar-gen father-co mother-co
varu-v-aarkaḷ
come-fu-3pl
'Kumar's father or mother will come.'

Postpositions can likewise be conjoined by all four co-ordinators. Example:

(549) a. *viiṭ·ṭu-kku [munnaalee illaiyenraal/ allatu*
house-dat in front of or or
pinnaalee] oru kiṇaru iru·kk-a veeṇṭ-um
behind a well be-inf want-fu+3sn
'In front of or at the back of the house, there must be a well.'

b. *viiṭ·ṭu-kku [munnaalee·y-oo/-aavatu pinnaalee·y-oo/-aavatu]*
house-dat in front of-co behind-co
oru kiṇaru iru·kk-a veeṇṭ-um
a well be-inf want-fu+3sn
'In front of or at the back of the house, there must be a well.'

Adverbs can similarly be conjoined by all four co-ordinators.

(550) a. *kuraṅku [munti illaiyenraal/ allatu pinti]*
monkey forward or or backward
taav-um
jump-fu+3sn
'The monkey will jump forward or backward.'

b. *kuraṅku [munti·y-oo/-aavatu pinti·y-oo/-aavatu]*
monkey forward-co backward-co
taav-um
jump-fu+3sn
'The monkey will jump forward or backward.'

Quantifiers can also be conjoined by all four co-ordinators. Example:

(551) a. *koovil-ukku [koñcam illaiyenraal/ allatu niraiya]*
temple-dat little or or much
paṇam koṭu-pp-aarkaḷ
money give-fu-3pl
'For the temple they will give a little or a lot of money.'

b. *koovil-ukku [koñcam-oo/-aavatu niraiya·v-oo/-aavatu]*
temple-dat little-co much-co
paṇam koṭu-pp-aarkaḷ
money give-fu-3pl
'For the temple they will give a little or a lot of money.'

Adjectives, however, can only be conjoined with the two co-ordinating conjunctions *illaiyenraal/allatu*. Example:

(552) *kumaar-ukku oru [periya illaiyenraal/ allatu ciriya]*
Kumar-dat a big or or small
viitu veent-um
house want-fu+3sn
'Kumar wants a big or small house.'

Turning to phrases, both noun phrases and postpositional phrases can be conjoined by all four co-ordinators. Examples:

(553) a. *[nii illaiyenraal/ allatu un tampi] katai-kku·p*
you or or you(obl) brother shop-dat
poo·k-a veent-um
go-inf want-fu+3sn
'You or your brother have to go shopping.'

b. *[nii·y-ool-aavatu un tampi·y-ool-aavatu]*
you-co you(obl) brother-co
katai-kku·p poo·k-a veent-um
shop-dat go-inf want-fu+3sn
'You or your brother have to go shopping.'

(554) a. *kumaar [ilakkana-tt-ai·p parri illaiyenraal/ allatu*
Kumar grammar-obl-acc about or or
ilakkiya-tt-ai·p parri·p] peecu-v-aar
literature-obl-acc about talk-fu-3sh
'Kumar will talk about grammar or literature.'

b. *kumaar [ilakkana-tt-ai·p parri·y-ool-aavatu*
Kumar grammar-obl-acc about-co
ilakkiya-tt-ai·p parri·y-ool-aavatu] peecu-v-aar
literature-obl-acc about-co talk-fu-3sh
'Kumar will talk about grammar or literature.'

Since adjectives can only be conjoined by the two co-ordinating conjunctions *illaiyenraal/allatu* 'or'—see (552), adjective phrases also can only be conjoined by these two conjunctions.

On the sentential level, finite clauses can be conjoined by the two conjunctions *illaiyenraal/allatu*. Example:

(555) *kumaar varu-v-aan illaiyenraal/ allatu raajaa varu-v-aan*
Kumar come-fu-3sm or or Raja come-fu-3sm
'Kumar will come or Raja will come.'

When we turn to non-finite clauses, we observe that, on the one hand, adjectival clauses can only be conjoined by the two conjunctions *illaiyenraal/allatu* 'or', as shown by the following example:

(556) *[naan kotu-tt-a illaiyenraal/ allatu kumaar pati-tt-a]*
I give-pst-adj or or Kumar read-pst-adj
pustaka-tt-ai·p pati
book-obl-acc study
'Read the book which I gave you or the one which Kumar read.'

On the other hand, infinitive clauses, verbal participle clauses, and conditional clauses can be conjoined by all the four co-ordinators. This will be illustrated for the conditional clause by the following two examples:

(557) a. *[kumaar inkee va-nt·aal illaiyenraal/ allatu nii ankee*
Kumar here come-cond or or you there
poo-n·aal] at-ai·p parri·t terintukkol-v-oom
go-cond that-acc about find out-fu-1pl
'If Kumar comes here or if you go there, we will find out about that.'

b. *[kumaar inkee va-nt·aal-ool-aavatu nii ankee]*
Kumar here come-cond-co you there
poo-n·aal-ool-aavatu] at-ai·p parri·t terintukkol-v-oom
go-cond-co that-acc about find out-fu-1pl
'If Kumar comes here or if you go there, we will find out about that.'

4.5
Alternative questions

The interrogative clitic *-aa*, see 3.50, occurs also as 'or' co-ordinator after each element conjoined. Hereby alternative questions are formed. Like the co-ordinating clitics *-ool -aavatu*, the clitic *-aa* occurs with nouns, postpositions, adverbs, and quantifiers, but not with adjectives. We will illustrate noun and quantifier co-ordination by the following two examples:

(558) *unkal-ukku [itli·y-aa toocai·y-aa] veent-um*
you(pl)-dat Idli-co Dosai-co want-fu+3sn
'Do you want Idli or Dosai?'

(559) *kumaar [koñcam-aa niṟaiya·v-aa] caappiṭ·ṭ-aaṉ*
Kumar little-co much-co eat-pst-3sm
'Did Kumar eat little or much?'

Similarly noun phrases and postpositional phrases can be conjoined with *-aa*, e.g. in the case of postpositional phrases:

(560) *kumaar [ilakkaṇa-tt-ai·p paṟṟi·y-aa ilakkiya-tt-ai·p*
Kumar grammar-obl-acc about-co literature-obl-acc
paṟṟi·y-aa] peecu-v-aar
about-co talk-fu-3sh
'Will Kumar talk about grammar or literature?'

Among non-finite clauses both infinitive and verbal participle clauses, but not adjectival or conditional clauses, can be conjoined. See the following example of an infinitive clause co-ordination:

(561) *kumaar [veelai cey·y-a·v-aa rest eṭu·kk-a·v-aa]*
Kumar work do-inf-co rest take-inf-co
iṅkee va-nt-aaṉ
here come-pst-3sm
'Did Kumar come here to work or to take rest?'

The co-ordinating clitic *-aa* occurs with finite clauses to form two types of alternative questions. The first type expresses the alternative of two propositions. It is formed by conjoing two finite clauses with *-aa* and deleting all identical material of the second clause, except the sentence final verb, which is the host of the clitic *-aa*. Suppose you have the alternative of the following two propositions:

(562) a. *kumaar iṅkee naaḷai varu-v-aaṉ*
Kumar here tomorrow come-fu-3sm
'Kumar will come here tomorrow.'

b. *kumaar iṅkee aṭutta vaara-tt-il varu-v-aaṉ*
Kumar here next week-obl-loc come-fu-3sm
'Kumar will come here next week.'

then a question expressing the alternative of these two propositions is formed by conjoining the two clauses with the co-ordinating clitic *-aa* and deleting the material of the second clause which is identical to the one of the first clause, except the verb, that is *kumaar iṅkee*, resulting in the following question:

(563) *kumaar iṅkee naaḷai varu-v-aaṉ-aa aṭutta vaara-tt-il*
Kumar here tomorrow come-fu-3sm-co next week-obl-loc
varu-v-aaṉ-aa
come-fu-3sm-co
'Will Kumar come here tomorrow or next week?'

The second type of alternative questions expresses the alternative of a positive and negative proposition. It is formed by conjoing the positive and the negative clause with *-aa* and deleting all material of the negative clause identical to the one of the positive clause, except the verb, which is the host of the clitic *-aa*. Example:

(564) *kumaar iṅkee naaḷai varu-v-aaṉ-aa*
Kumar here tomorrow come-fu-3sm-co
var-a maaṭṭ-aaṉ-aa
come-inf will-3sm-co
'Will Kumar come here tomorrow or not?'

Alternatively, only the negative predicate *ill-ai* 'is/are not' can be conjoined with *-aa* to the positive clause, e.g.

(565) *kumaar iṅkee naaḷai varu-v-aaṉ-aa ill-ai·y-aa*
Kumar here tomorrow come-fu-3sm-co be not-3pln-co
'Will Kumar come here tomorrow or not?'

4.6
'But' co-ordination

The 'but' co-ordinator in Tamil consists of the conjunction word *aaṉaal* 'but', which occurs in-between the two elements conjoined, as represented by the following:

X → X *aaṉaal* X

The variable X, that is the elements conjoined with *aaṉaal*, can be:

- adjectives
- nouns + *-aaka*
- postpositional phrases
- adjectival clauses
- finite clauses

This will be illustrated by the following examples:

(566) a. adjective co-ordination
itu [periya aan̲aal paẕaiya] viiṭu
this big but old house
'This is a big but an old house.'

b. noun + *-aaka* co-ordination
avan̲ [cattam-aaka aan̲aal veekam-aaka·p] peec-in̲-aan̲
he sound-adv but speed-adv speak-pst-3sm
'He spoke loud but fast.'

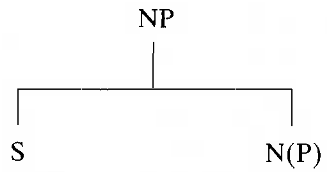
c. postpositional phrase co-ordination
niiṅkaḷ [aintu maṇi-kku appuṟam aan̲aal aaṟu
you(pl) five hour-dat after but six
maṇi-kku mun̲n̲aal] iṅkee var-a veeṇṭ-um
hour-dat before here come-inf want-fu+3sn
'You have to come here after five o'clock, but before six o'clock.'

d. adjectival clause co-ordination
itu [kumaar koṭu-tt-a aan̲aal eẕut-aat-a] kaṭitam
this Kumar give-pst-adj but write-neg-adj letter
'This is the letter that Kumar gave, but didn't write.'

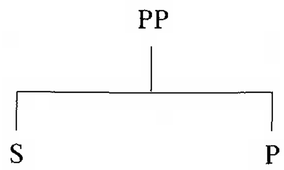
e. finite clause co-ordination
avan̲ va-nt-aan̲ aan̲aal on̲ṟum coll-a·v-ill-ai
he come-pst-3sm but anything say-inf-be not-3pln
'He came, but didn't say anything.'

Complementation and nominalization
4.7

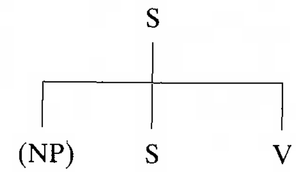
Tamil has a large system of complex sentence formations involving the embedding or adjoining of a clause (in)to another sentence. When a clause is embedded into or adjoined to the structure of another sentence in Tamil, it is either embedded as co-constituent or complement to the left side of a head constituent: S—HEAD, a process to which we refer to as complementation, or it is embedded into a noun phrase as sole constituent of the noun phrase—a process commonly referred to as nominalization. In complementation, the categories which occur as head of a complement in Tamil are nouns (N), noun phrases (NP), postpositions (P), verbs (V), and the clause (S) itself. Thus a clause can be embedded into a noun phrase as complement to the left side of a head noun or head noun phrase:

(567)


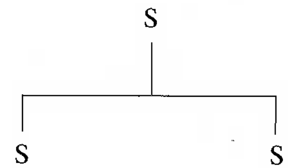
Or a clause can be embedded into a postpositional phrase as complement or argument to the left side of the postpositional head:

(568)


A clause can also be embedded into a sentence as complement to the left side of the verbal predicate:

(569)


Note that due to free word order, the complement need not be adjacent to the verbal predicate, but other elements may occur between the complement and its head. Finally, a clause can be adjoined to the left side of the matrix sentence, as shown by the following configuration:

(570)


Thus in Tamil the following types of complementation can be distinguished:

- noun phrase complementation (567)
- postpositional phrase complementation (568)
- predicate complementation (569)
- adjoined complementation (570)

The terms complementation and complement are used here in a broad sense, including, for example, relativization and relative clause as well as adverbial subordination and adverbial clause.

Nominalization is generally regarded as the embedding of a clause into a noun phrase constituent as sole constituent of the noun phrase, as shown by the following configuration:

(571)
```
NP
 |
 S
```

This analysis is applicable to the Tamil data. However, as will be proposed under section 4.43 below, an alternative analysis is also available.

In order to embed or adjoin a clause (in)to a sentence, Tamil uses various devices to mark the embedded or adjoined clause. The basic device is a morphological one: non-finite and nominalized verb forms. In this case the complement marker is a complementizing suffix, that is a non-finite verb form or nominalizing suffix, and occurs as such within the embedded or adjoined clause. In addition, Tamil uses the following syntactic devices to mark embedded clauses. A restricted number of verbs and nouns are used to embed a clause or adjoin it (in)to a sentence. We mentioned above that Tamil has no lexical class of complementizers, such as 'that, if, when' in English. To embed, for example, a finite clause, Tamil uses a number of verbs as complementizing verbs. In this case, the complement marker occurs outside, that is after the embedded clause. Finally, Tamil uses also clause final clitics as complement markers. See now the various devices Tamil employs to mark complementation in an overview:

- non-finite and nominalized verb forms
- complementizing verbs
- complementizing nouns
- clitics

Before we illustrate these devices, we have to mention that there are two cases where a clause is embedded without any of these devices, that is, where the complement is unmarked. There are two lexical verbs which take an unmarked complement. These are the verbs *en̲* 'say, think' and *pool* 'seem'. Notice the following examples:

(572) *kumaar [in̲r̲u oru mantiri varu-kir̲-aar] en̲-r̲-aan̲*
Kumar today a minister come-pres-3sh say-pst-3sm
'Kumar said that a minister would come today.'

(573) *[in̲r̲u oru mantiri varu-kir̲-aar] pool-um*
today a minister come-pres-3sh seem-fu+3sn
'It seems that a minister is coming today.'

In both (572) and (573) the complements in brackets before the verbal predicate *en̲-r̲-aan̲* and *pool-um*, respectively, are unmarked complements. That is they consist of a finite verbal clause, which as itself can stand as a matrix clause. No complementizing morpheme within or outside the embedded clause marks the latter as complement. In these cases, one could assume that the two verbs *en̲* and *pool* have the special property that they take unmarked complements or that a complementizing morpheme outside the embedded S has been deleted. However, in the course of the discussion, we will see that these two verbs are very much involved in complement marking and have the complementizing function as an inherent property.

In the following we will illustrate the four devices Tamil uses to mark complementation and nominalization.

The first and basic strategy to mark a clause as complement is the use of non-finite and nominalized verb forms, that is, the complement clause occurs as non-finite or nominalized clause. As shown under 1.49-53, Tamil has four types of non-finite verb forms: infinitive, verbal participle, conditional, and adjectival participle—resulting in four types of non-finite clauses: infinitive clauses, verbal participle clauses, conditional clauses, and adjectival clauses. In this case the non-finite verb form suffixes mark the final clause boundary of the complement, as shown in the following example of an infinitive clause:

(574) *kumaar [amerikkaa·v-ukku·p poo·k-a] virumpu-kir̲-aan̲*
Kumar America-dat go-inf want-pres-3sm
'Kumar wants to go to America.'

In (574) a clause is embedded as complement to the modality verb *virumpu* 'want'. The predicate of the embedded clause occurs in infinitive form, marked with the infinitive suffix *-a*. Apart from non-finite verb forms, Tamil has several types of nominalized verb forms or verbal nouns, as shown under 1.54. These forms are marked with a nominalizing suffix, e.g. the suffix *-atu* in the case of tensed verbal nouns, which

mark an embedded clause on its final boundary —where the verb occurs—as noun phrase. (For an alternative analysis see 4.43.) This is illustrated by the following example:

(575) [$_{NP}$ *mantiri neerru va-nt-at-ai*] *naan keeṭ-ṭ-een*
minister yesterday come-pst-nom-acc I ask-pst-1s
'I heard that the minister had come yesterday.'

In (575) a clause is embedded as object noun phrase of a cognitive predicate, the verb *keeḷ* 'hear', by means of the nominalizing suffix *-atu*, to which the accusative case suffix *-ai* is added. The strategy to use non-finite and nominalized verb forms to mark the embedding of a clause has a number of restrictions on embedding. For example, it does not allow the embedding of a clause with a nominal predicate or a finite verbal predicate. Tamil, therefore, uses in addition three more strategies.

The second strategy to mark the embedding of a clause is to use complementizing verbs. There are three verbs, *en* 'say, think', *aaku* 'become', and *pool* 'seem', which occur in a non-lexical usage as complementizing verbs. In this case, they occur in non-finite and nominalized verb forms after an embedded clause with a nominal or finite verbal predicate and mediate between the embeddd clause and the matrix clause. Moreover, together with the embedded clause they occur as one syntactic constituent. Therefore, they have the same syntactic function which lexical complementizers, like 'that', or 'if' in English, do. Nevertheless, they have the syntactic properties and categorical status of verbs, as will be demonstrated in the discussion below. We will first illustrate the occurrence of these complementizing verbs with the following three examples:

(576) a. [[*mantiri neerru va-nt-aar*] *en-ru*] *naan*
minister yesterday come-pst-3sh say-vbp I
keeḷvippaṭ-ṭ-een
hear-pst-1s
'I heard that a minister had come yesterday.'

b. [[*kumaar vakkiil*] *en-r-aal/ aa-n-aal*] *avar-ai-k*
Kumar lawyer say-cond become-cond he-acc
kuuppiṭu
call
'If Kumar is a lawyer, call him.'

c. [[*aṅkee oru paampu iru-kkir-atu*] *pool-a-t*]
there a snake be-pres-3sn seem-inf
teri-kir-atu
appear-pres-3sn
'It appears as if there is a snake.'

In (576a) a finite verbal clause is embedded as complement to a cognitive verb with the verbal participle form *en-ru*, which translates as 'that'. In (576b) a verbless clause is adjoined as complement to a matrix clause with the conditional form *en-r-aal* or *aa-n-aal*, which translates as 'if'. Finally in (576c) a finite verbal clause is embedded as complement to a dubitative verbal predicate with the infinitive form *pool-a*, which translates as 'as if'. In each case, the embedded clause and the complementizing verb form *en-ru*, *en-r-aal*, *aa-n-aal*, or *pool-a* form together one constituent. That is the complement to the head consists of both an embedded clause and a free complement marker.

The third strategy Tamil employs to embed a clause is to use complementizing nouns. These nouns embed or adjoin a clause in adjectival clause form (in)to the structure of a sentence. Most of the complementizing nouns belong to the semantic category of time, manner, or measure, and express thus various temporal, manner, etc. relations between the embedded clause and the matrix clause—similarly to prepositions in English like 'after, before', etc. This strategy allows Tamil to form various types of adverbial complements with semantic functions which cannot be expressed by non-finite verb forms and case marked nominalized clauses. One example will be given here for illustration:

(577) [[*kumaar va-nt-a*] *uṭan*] *naaṅkaḷ caappiṭu-v-oom*
Kumar come-pst-adj immediacy we eat-fu-1pl
'As soon as Kumar comes, we will eat.'

In sentence (577) the temporal noun *uṭan* 'immediacy' embeds a clause in an adjectival clause form to the matrix clause and expresses the temporal relation which is denoted by the complementizer 'as soon as' in English.

Finally the fourth strategy Tamil employs to mark complements is the use of clause final clitics. As shown under 2.54-81, Tamil has a closed set of clitics which can be added to various types of constituents. When the clitics *-oo* and *-ee* occur in clause final position, that is after the finite verb, they embed a clause as complement to a head. This is illustrated by the following example:

(578)

[$_{PP}$[$_{S}$ *en̲n̲-iṭam*	*peec-in̲-aan̲-ee*]	[$_{P}$ *tavira*]]	
I-loc	talk-pst-3sm-comp	except	
kumaar	*yaar-iṭam-um*	*peec-a·v-ill-ai*	
Kumar	who-loc-incl	talk-inf-be not-3pln	

'Except that he talked to me, Kumar didn't talk to anyone.'

In (578) the clitic *-ee* embeds a finite clause as complement to the postposition *tavira*.

The illustration of the four devices of complement marking shows that in Tamil a complement is always marked at the end. On the one hand, this follows from independent properties of grammatical structures in Tamil. Since the verb occurs final in the clause and inflectional suffixes occur as complement markers, the final clause boundary of an embedded clause is marked. Similarly, since the verb occurs sentence finally, complementizing verbs mark the end of a complement. On the other hand, the fact that complements are marked finally follows from general properties of head final structures. Since the head occurs always final and the complement occurs consequently to the left side, S—HEAD, the complementizing morphemes occur at the end of the complement as they mediate between the embedded S and the head. This is clearly seen by the use of clitics in clause final position.

In the following sections, we will discuss in detail the four strategies Tamil uses to form complex sentences. We will first deal with those complements which consist of non-finite and nominalized clauses. Then, we will discuss the complements which consist of an embedded clause plus a complementizing verb form or a complementizing noun. Finally, we will deal with complements which are marked with a clause final clitic.

Non-finite clauses

4.8

As mentioned above, Tamil has four types of non-finite clauses:

- infinitive clauses
- verbal participle clauses
- conditional clauses
- adjectival clauses

In the following these four types will be discussed in detail.

Infinitive clauses

4.9

The infinitive form has been introduced under 1.50 as verb stem + infinitive suffix *-a*. The infinitive is thus not specified for tense. As a tenseless verb form, the infinitive form is an appropriate verb form to occur in complements whose time reference is determined by the meaning or time reference of the complement taking predicate. As such the infinitive clause occurs in a wide variety of contexts:

- complement to desiderative, modal, aspectual verbs
- complement to manipulative verbs
- complement to perception verbs
- adverbial clause expressing a) purpose, b) cause, c) time, d) result
- complement to noun phrases

Each of these occurrences will be discussed in the following.

4.10

Complement to desiderative, modal, aspectual verbs

The infinitive clause occurs as complement to (a) desiderative verbs, e.g. *virumpu* 'want', *aacaippaṭu* 'desire', (b) modal verbs, e.g. *teri* 'can, know how to', (c) negative achievement verbs, such as *mar̲a* 'forget', *mar̲u* 'refuse', *muyarcci paṇṇu* 'try', and (d) aspectual verbs, e.g. *aarampi* 'start'. This is illustrated by the following examples:

(579)

a.

kumaar	[*amerikkaa·v-ukku·p*	*poo·k-a*]	*virumpu-kir̲-aan̲*
Kumar	America-dat	go-inf	want-pres-3sm

'Kumar wants to go to America.'

b.

kumaar-ukku·c	[*caikkiḷ*	*ooṭṭ-a·t*]	*teri·y-um*
Kumar-dat	cycle	ride-inf	know-fu+3sn

'Kumar can/knows how to ride a cycle.'

c.

raajaa	[*katav-ai·c*	*caatt-a*]	*mar̲a-ntu*	*viṭ·ṭ-aan̲*
Raja	door-acc	close-inf	forget-vbp	leave-pst-3sm

'Raja forgot to close the door.'

d.

raajaa	[*aaṅkilam*	*paṭi·kk-a*]	*aarampi-tt-aan̲*
Raja	English	study-inf	start-pst-3sm

'Raja started to study English.'

In the above examples the infinitive clause refers to a potential or unrealized event. This follows from the meaning of the respective verbs which take an infinitive clause as complement. Thus, in (579a), for example, the meaning of the verb *virumpu* 'want' implies that this verb takes a complement which refers to an event that may be realized in the future, e.g. going to America. The meaning of the modal verb *teri* in (579b) implies that this verb takes a complement expressing a potential event, such as riding a bicycle. Or, the verb *mara* 'forget' in (579c) allows the interpretation of a non-realized event. Thus the closing of the door has not happened. Since the semantics of the above verbs requires a complement referring to a potential or unrealized event and the infinitive clause as tenseless clause can express such an event, these verbs take an infinitive clause as complement.

In all of the above infinitive complements, the subject NP is unexpressed. The subject NP has been deleted by a process known as Equi-deletion, which deletes the subject of an embedded clause when it is coreferential with an argument NP of the main clause. In all cases of (579) the deleted subject NP of the infinitive complement is coreferential with the subject NP of the main clause, that is *kumaar* and *raajaa*, respectively. In infinitive complements of the above given class of verbal predicates no overt subject NP is possible. If the above given class of verbs takes a complement with a subject NP which is not coreferential with the subject NP of the main clause, that is, when the subject NP is not deleted by Equi-deletion, but overt, then the complement cannot be an infinitive clause.Instead it has to be a finite clause with the modal auxiliary *veeṇṭ-um*, which is marked with the complementizing verbal participle form *eṉ-ṟu*, see 4.62. Example:

(580) *kumaar [[naaṉ iṅkee var-a veeṇṭ-um] eṉ-ṟu]*
Kumar I here come-inf want-fu+3sn say-vbp
virumpu-kiṟ-aaṉ
want-pres-3sm
'Kumar wants that I should come here.'

4.11
Complement to manipulative verbs

The second type of verbs which take infinitive clauses as complements are manipulative or ordering verbs, such as *collu* 'say', *keeḷ* 'ask', *varpuṟuttu* 'insist', *uttaraviṭu* 'order', *kaṭṭayappaṭuttu* 'force', *veeṇṭikkoḷ* 'request', *viṭu* 'let', etc. See the following examples:

(581) a. *naaṉ kumaar-ai var-a·c coṉ-ṉ-eeṉ*
I Kumar-acc come-inf say-pst-1s
'I told Kumar to come.'

b. *naaṉ kumaar-ai veelai cey·y-a uttaraviṭ·ṭ-eeṉ*
I Kumar-acc work do-inf order-pst-1s
'I ordered Kumar to work.'

c. *raajaa kumaar-ai·k kuṭi·kk-a kaṭṭayappaṭ·ṭ-aaṉ*
Raja Kumar-acc drink-inf force-pst-3sm
'Raja forced Kumar to drink.'

Manipulative verbs express that an agent, the subject of the manipulative verb, causes another event—similarly to causative auxiliary verbs discussed under 3.29. The caused event—expressed by the complement of the manipulative verb—refers to a resulting event, that is has future time reference relative to the time reference of the manipulative verb. Therefore the complements of manipulative verbs have determined time reference to future time. Thus infinitive clauses are appropriate to occur as complements since as tenseless verb forms their time reference can be determined.

Syntactically, these infinitive complements differ from other infinitive complements insofar as their clausal constituency is only in underlying structure, but not on surface structure. All sentences under (581) are mono clausal on surface structure. This is evidenced by the following facts. In cleft sentence formation an adverbial adjunct of the infinitive, for example, can be moved over the nominalized verb.

(582) a. *naaṉ kumaar-ai iṅkee var-a·c coṉ-ṉ-eeṉ*
I Kumar-acc here come-inf say-pst-1s
'I told Kumar to come here.'

b. *naaṉ kumaar-ai var-a·c coṉ-ṉ-atu iṅkee-taaṉ*
I Kumar-acc come-inf say-pst-nom here-emph
'It was here that I told Kumar to come.'

Since only immediate constituents of the main clause can be moved over the nominalized verb, the adverbial adjunct *iṅkee* cannot occur as element of an embedded clause because in that case it would not be an immediate constituent of the main clause and could not be moved over the nominalized verb. This mono clausal structure on surface level can

be explained by the process known as Clause Reduction. Manipulative verbs have the lexical idiosyncracy that they trigger deletion of the clause boundary of the complement clause and thus the main clause and complement clause become a single or mono clause. Furthermore, notice that the understood subject of the infinitive complement, the NP *kumaar* in our examples under (581), occurs always in accusative case, in the same way as the subject NP of complement clauses of causative auxiliary verbs discussed under 3.29. This can be explained in the same fashion: manipulative verbs like causative auxiliary verbs have the special property that they can assign accusative case to an additional NP. After the process of Clause Reduction has eliminated the clause boundary of the complement clause, the subject of the complement clause is under government of the manipulative verb and thus entitled to be assigned case by the latter.

4.12
Complement to perception verbs

Verbs of immediate perception, such as *paar*, *kaṇ* 'see', or *keeḷ* 'hear', take an infinitive clause as complement, which describes the event perceived. See the following two examples:

(583)	*kumaar*	*[oru*	*aẓakiya*	*peṇ*	*aṅkee*	*nir̲-k-a-p]*	*paar-tt-aan̲*
	Kumar	a	beautiful	girl	there	stand-inf	see-pst-3sm

'Kumar saw a beautiful girl stand there.'

(584)	*[kumaar*	*varu-kir̲-een̲*	*en̲-r̲u*	*coll-a]*	*naan̲*	*keeṭ-ṭ-een̲*
	Kumar	come-pres-1s	say-vbp	say-inf	I	hear-pst-1s

'I heard Kumar say that he would come.'

The time reference of the perceived event has to be identical with the time reference of the perception. For this reason, the time reference of complements to perception verbs is determined by the time reference of the perception verb. Infinitive clauses can, therefore, be used as complements since, as tenseless clauses, they do not have independent time reference. Finally note that the subject NP of this type of infinitive complement occurs always in nominative case.

4.13
Adverbial clause

An infinitive clause can also be adjoined to, or embedded into, a main

clause with adverbial function. Annamalai (1980:162) and Paramasivam (1983:265) note that an infinitive clause with adverbial function can have various semantic interpretations, such as (i) purpose, (ii) cause, (iii) time, and (iv) result. This will be illustrated in the following.

The infinitive clause can be interpreted as purpose clause. Hereby the subject NP of the infinitive clause may be coreferential with the subject NP of the main clause and then be deleted, as in (585), or may be non-coreferential and overtly expressed, as in (586):

(585)	*kumaar*	*[en̲n̲-ai-p*	*paar-kk-a]*	*va-nt-aan̲*
	Kumar	I-acc	see-inf	come-pst-3sm

'Kumar came to see me.'

(586)	*[naan̲*	*kalluuri-y-il*	*paṭi-kk-a]*	*appaa*	*atikam*
	I	college-loc	study-inf	father	much
	veelai	*cey-kir̲-aar*			
	work	do-pres-3sh			

'Father works a lot for me to study at college.'

The infinitive clause can also be interpreted as causal, temporal, and resultive clause. Hereby, the subject NP of the infinitive and main clause must be different. Examples:

(587) a. cause

[kumaar	*kall-aal*	*aṭi-kk-a]*	*maṇṭai*	*uṭai-nt-atu*
Kumar	stone-inst	beat-inf	head	break-pst-3sn

'Because Kumar beat with a stone, the head broke.'

b. time

[kumaar	*tuuṅk-a]*	*raajaa*	*paṭi-tt-aan̲*
Kumar	sleep-inf	Raja	study-pst-3sm

'When/while Kumar was sleeping, Raja studied.'

c. result

[rattam	*var-a]*	*kumaar*	*en̲n̲-ai*	*aṭi-tt-aan̲*
blood	come-inf	Kumar	I-acc	beat-pst-3sm

'Kumar beat me so that blood came.'

4.14
Complement to noun phrases

The infinitive clause can also occur as complement to the left side of a

head noun phrase to form a complex noun phrase: NP ⟶ S NP. See the following examples for illustration:

(588) a. $[_{NP}[_S$ *naaval paṭi·kk-a*] $[_{NP}$ *neeram*]]
novel read-inf time
kumaar-ukku ippootu kiṭai-ṯṯ-atu
Kumar-dat now get-pst-3sn
'Now Kumar has got time to read novels.'

b. $[_{NP}[_S$ *kuṭiyiru·kk-a*] $[_{NP}$ *vacati·y-aaṉa viiṭu*]]
live-inf comfort-adj house
aṅkee iru-kkiṟ-atu
there be-pres-3sn
'There are comfortable houses to live in.'

c. $[_{NP}[_S$ *avaṉ iṅku veelai cey·y-a*] $[_{NP}$ *urimai·y-ai*]]
he here work do-inf right-acc
avarkaḷ niikk-iṉ-aarkaḷ
they withdraw-pst-3pl
'They withdrew the right for nim to work.'

In (588a) to (588c) an infinitive clause occurs before a noun phrase. There is evidence that at least under one interpretation these infinitive clauses occur as complements to the next following NP, that is, form one complex NP constituent with that NP, and are not adverbial clauses, which occur as co-constituent of the verb under S. In cleft sentence contructions, the infinitive clause can be moved along with the following NP over the nominalized verb, that is, both the infinitive clause and the next following NP occur as one constituent. This is illustrated by the following examples:

(589) a. *kumaar-ukku ippootu kiṭai-tt-atu* [*naaval paṭi·kk-a*
Kumar-dat now get-pst-nom novel read-inf
neeram]*-taaṉ*
time-emph
'What Kumar has got now is time to read a novel.'

b. *aṅkee iru-kkiṟ-atu* [*kuṭiyiru·kk-a vacati·y-aaṉa*
there be-pres-nom live-inf comfort-adj
viiṭu]*-taaṉ*
house-emph
'What there is are houses to live in.'

Sentences (589a) and (589b) are the clefted versions of (588a) and (588b), in which the clefting rule has transposed the emphasized constituent marked with the clitic *-taaṉ* over the nominalized verb. Since both the infinitive clause and the NP are moved, they occur as one complex NP constituent.

The subject NP of the infinitive clause complementing a noun phrase can be overtly expressed or not. Thus in (588c), the subject NP is overtly expessed by the NP *kumaar*. In (588a), the subject NP is deleted, being coreferential with the subject NP *kumaar* of the main clause. In (588b), no subject NP occurs overtly and since there is no NP in the main clause with which it could be interpreted as coreferential, the subject NP of the infinitive clause is interpreted as arbitrary or indefinite in reference.

4.15
Other occurrences

Apart from the above given contexts and functions of the infinitive clause, there are a number of other contexts where the infinitive clause can occur.

The verb *neer* 'happen' takes an infinitive clause as only argument, e.g.

(590) [*kumaar-um raajaa·v-um oṉṟ-aaka var-a*] *neer-nt-atu*
Kumar-co Raja-co together come-inf happen-pst-3sn
'It happened that Kumar and Raja came together.'

The transitive verb *cey* 'do' does not only take a nominalized clause as object NP, but also, alternatively, an infinitive clause as complement. Example:

(591) [*kumaar coll-a*] *naaṉ cey-t-eeṉ*
Kumar say-inf I do-pst-1s
'I did what Kumar said.'

The 'and' co-ordination of two infinitive clauses occurs also as complement to the predicate *cariyaaka iru* 'happen at the same time', e.g.

(592) [*kumaar viiṭ·ṭu-kku var-a·v-um raajaa viiṭ·ṭu-kku*
Kumar house-dat come-inf-co Raja house-dat
var-a·v-um] *cari·y-aaka iru-nt-atu*
come-inf-co O.K.-adv be-pst-3sn
'Kumar's coming home and Raja's coming home happened at the same time.'

4.16
Reduplication of infinitives

Of the four types of infinitive adverbial clauses, all infinitive clauses, except purposive infinitive clauses, can be reduplicated to express intensity, repetition, or continuity of an action. In the case of causal and temporal infinitive clauses, there is often an ambiguity between a causal and temporal interpretation. See the following two examples:

(593) a. [*neeram aak-a aak-a*] *kumaar-ukku·p*
time become-inf become-inf Kumar-dat
payam-aaka iru-nt-atu
fear-adv be-pst-3sn
'When/because it became later and later, Kumar was afraid.'

b. [*naan̲ keeṭ·k-a keeṭ·k-a*] *kumaar patil con̲-n̲-aan̲*
I ask-inf ask-inf Kumar answer say-pst-3sm
'When/because I asked again and again, Kumar answered.'

The following is an example of the reduplication of an infinitive clause with resultive interpretation.

(594) [*ooṭ-a ooṭ-a*] *naan̲ avan̲-ai viraṭṭ-in̲-een̲*
run-inf run-inf I he-acc scare-pst-1s
'I scared him so that he ran away.'

4.17
Infinitive + -*um*

When the clitic -*um* is added to the infinitive, the form infinitive + -*um* expresses the temporal relation of immediate sequence. The subject NPs of the infinitive and main clause may be identical or different. See the following examples:

(595) a. [*kumaar caappiṭ·ṭu muṭi·kk-a·v-um*] *tuuṅk-a·p*
Kumar eat-vbp finish-inf-imm sleep-inf
poo-n̲-aan̲
go-pst-3sm
'As soon as Kumar finished eating, he went to sleep.'

b. [*kumaar var-a·v-um*] *naan̲ avan̲-ai·k keeṭ-ṭ-een̲*
Kumar come-inf-imm I he-acc ask-pst-1s
'As soon as Kumar came, I asked him.'

Verbal participle clauses
4.18

There are two types of verbal participles: a positive and a negative one. The forms of the verbal participle have been given under 1.51. The structure of the positive verbal participle has been represented as verb stem + verbal participle suffix, which is homophonous with the past tense allomorphs and to which the enunciative vowel -*u* is added if the past tense allomorph consists of one (or two) consonant(s). The structure of the negative verbal participle has been given as either verb stem + negative suffix -*aa* + verbal participle suffix -*mal* or verb stem + negative suffix -*aat* + enunciative vowel -*u*. Like the infinitive, both verbal participle forms are tenseless verb forms and their time reference is determined by the time reference of the verb of the main clause. Moreover, the verbal participle suffix does not explicitly signal the semantic relationship between the verbal participle and the main clause. The semantic relationship is interpreted according to context. There are three basic contexts in which the verbal participle clause occurs:

- conjunctive complement
- adverbial clause
- verb complement

In the following we will first discuss the various occurrences of the positive verbal participle clause and then those of the negative verbal participle clause.

4.19
Conjunctive complement

In order to express the conjunction of two or more propositions with temporal or non-temporal 'and' relation, e.g. 'Peter came and sat down' or 'Peter sang and Mary danced', Indo-European languages use typically a co-ordinated (co-ranking) structure. In such a type of structure, two or more clauses, which have a verbal predicate of the same rank (e.g. identical inflection), that is two or more finite clauses, are conjoined as independent clauses by a co-ordinating conjunction, e.g. 'and' in English: $S_0 \rightarrow S_1$ 'and' S . Example: 'John came and called me'. In this example, both verbs 'came' and 'called' are finite verbs. As such they are verbs of equal rank and differ in no way inflectionally.

As mentioned under 4.2, the 'and' co-ordinator in Tamil—the clitic -*um*—cannot conjoin two finite clauses. As a result Tamil does not have an 'and' co-ordination of two independent clauses. To express the

conjunction of two or more propositions with temporal or non-temporal 'and' relation, Tamil uses a different structure: two or more clauses are simply adjoined (or juxtaposed) to another: $S_0 \rightarrow S_1 S_2$. Hereby, the verbal predicate of each clause is not of the same rank. Only the verb of the final clause is a finite verb, e.g. inflected for tense, person, number, gender, imperative, or optative. The verb(s) of the preceding clause(s) is (are) deficient of these inflectional categories and are inflected for the verbal participle form. The resulting structure is thus one of adjoined complementation, in which one or more verbal participle clauses are adjoined (or juxtaposed) to a finite clause. The semantic relation between the clauses is interpreted as the temporal or non-temporal 'and' relation. Suppose Tamil conjoins the two propositions expressed by the following two finite clauses:

(596) a. *kumaar iṅkee va-nt-aan̲*
Kumar here come-pst-3sm
'Kumar came here.'

b. *kumaar en̲n̲-ai·k kuuppiṭ·ṭ-aan̲*
Kumar I-acc call-pst-3sm
'Kumar called me.'

Then the two clauses are conjoined by adjoing the first clause in the form of a verbal participle clause S_1 to the second clause S_2 which appears as finite verb form clause:

(597) [[$_{S_1}$ *kumaar iṅkee va-ntu*] [$_{S_2}$ *en̲n̲-ai·k kuuppiṭ·ṭ-aan̲*]]
Kumar here come-vbp I-acc call-pst-3sm
'Kumar came here and called me.'

If the subject NPs of both clauses are coreferential, one of them is deleted, as the one of the finite clause S_2 in (597). When one or more verbal participle clauses are adjoined to a finite clause and the semantic relation between the clauses is interpreted as the temporal or non-temporal 'and' relation, we will refer to the verbal participle clause(s) as conjunctive complement(s) and to the structure of adjoined complementation as conjunctive complementation.

In the structure of conjunctive complementation, the verbal predicates of the adjoined verbal participle clauses are dependent on the verbal predicate of the finite clause. Regarding the interpretation of verbal categories, such as tense, person, number, gender, mood, etc., the verbal participles depend on the finite verb. That is to say, the

verbal participles of the conjunctive complements are interpreted as if they were inflected in the same manner as the finite verb. This is illustrated by the following examples:

(598) a. [[*viiṭ·ṭu-kku·p pooy*] [*kumaar-ai·k keeḷ*]]
house-dat go+vbp Kumar-acc ask
'Go home and ask Kumar.'

b. [[*kumaar viiṭ·ṭ-il taṅk-i·p*] [*pakal muẓuvatum tuuṅk-in̲-aan̲*]]
Kumar house-loc stay-vbp day whole sleep-pst-3sm
'Kumar stayed at home and slept the whole day.'

c. [[*naaḷai kumaar va-ntu*] [*eṅkaḷ-ai·c canti-pp-aan̲*]]
tomorrow Kumar come-vbp we-acc meet-fu-3sm
'Tomorrow Kumar will come and meet us.'

d. [[*nii pooy*] [*kumaar-ai·k keeṭ·k-a veeṇṭ-um*]]
you go+vbp Kumar-acc ask-inf want-fu+3sn
'You have to go and ask Kumar.'

In (598a) the imperative form *keeḷ* of the finite clause determines the interpretaion of the verbal participle form *pooy* as imperative. In (598b) and (598c) the verbal participle forms *taṅk-i* and *va-ntu* are interpreted as expressing past and future tense, respectively, as determined by the tense of the finite verbs *tuuṅk-in̲-aan̲* and *canti-pp-aan̲*. Likewise, in (598d) the category of mood of the finite verb—an auxiliary compound verb construction—determines the interpretation of the verbal participle *pooy* with respect to this category. However, when the finite verb is negative, the scope of negativity does not necessarily include the verbal participle. Thus in (599) both readings are possible.

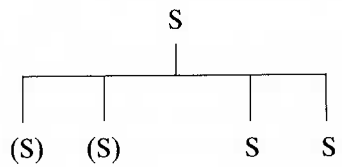
(599) [[*kumaar va-ntu*] [*en̲n̲-ai·p paar·kk-a·v-ill-ai*]]
Kumar came-vbp I-acc see-inf-be not-3pln
a. 'Kumar came and didn't see me.'
b. 'Kumar didn't come and didn't see me.'

The combination of clauses by means of adjoining a verbal participle clause to a finite clause is unlimited. Any number of verbal participle clauses can be adjoined to a finite clause. Thus in the following series of clauses, ten verbal participle clauses are adjoined to the finite clause.

(600) [[$_{s_1}$ *kumaar eezu maṇi-kku viẕi-ttu*] [$_{s_2}$ *eẕuntiru-ntu*]
Kumar seven hour-dat wake up-vbp get up-vbp
[$_{s_3}$ *kuḷiyal aṟai-kku·p pooy*] [$_{s_4}$ *pal viḷakk-i·k*]
bath room-dat go+vbp tooth brush-vbp
[$_{s_5}$ *kuḷi-ttu*] [$_{s_6}$ *uṭamp-ai·t tuṭai-ttu·t*]
bathe-vbp body-acc rub-vbp
[$_{s_7}$ *talai vaar-i·t*] [$_{s_8}$ *tuṇi poot·ṭu·k*]
head comb-vbp dress put on-vbp
[$_{s_9}$ *kiiẕee eṟaṅk-i·t*] [$_{s_{10}}$ *tiṇṇai·y-il uṭkaar-ntu*]
down get down-vbp porch-loc sit-vbp
[*pattirikkai paṭi-tt-aan*]]
paper read-pst-3sm
's_1 Kumar woke up at seven o'clock, s_2 got up, s_3 went to the bathroom, s_4 brushed his teeth, s_5 took bath, s_6 rubbed his body, s_7 combed his hair, s_8 put on his clothes, s_9 went downstairs, s_{10} sat down on the porch and read the paper.'

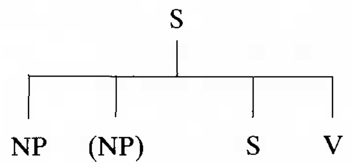
In the examples given sofar, one or more verbal participle clauses are adjoined (in a series) to the finite clause, as shown by the following representation:

(601)



However, surprisingly for the semantic interpretation of the temporal and non-temporal 'and' relation between the conjunctive complement and the finite clause, a verbal participle clause cannot only be adjoined to a finite clause, as shown under (601), but also be embedded into or nested into the finite clause, as shown by the following representation—see Lindholm (1975:96):

(602)



This is illustrated by the following example:

(603) [*naaṉ kumaar-ai* [*viiṭ·ṭu-kku·p pooy*] *paar-tt-eeṉ*]
I Kumar-acc house-dat go+vbp see-pst-1s
'I went home and saw Kumar.'

In the above example, the verbal participle clause *viiṭ·ṭu-kku·p pooy*, expressing the first of the two propostions conjoined, is embedded into the finite clause between the object NP *kumaar-ai* and the finite verb *paar-tt-eeṉ*.

Continuing with the discussion of the structural context of the conjunctive complement, the verbal participle clause is not only adjoined to a finite clause, but can also be adjoined to another non-finite clause, e.g., an infinitive clause, a conditional clause, or an adjectival clause, which is itself an embedded clause. In this case the interpretation of the verbal participle form regarding tense, mood, etc. is dependent on the one of the non-finite verb which governs it. For example, if a verbal participle form is governed by an infinitive form interpreted as purposive infinitive, then the verbal participle form is also interpreted for purpose. See the following examples where the verbal participle is governed by an infinitive (604a), a conditional (604b), an adjectival participle (604c), and is not in direct syntactic relation with the respective finite clause.

(604) a. [[*uṉṉ-ai·p paar-ttu*] [*oru viṣaya-tt-ai·p paṟṟi·p*
you-acc see-vbp a matter-obl-acc about
peec-a]] *neeṟṟu va-nt-eeṉ*
talk-inf yesterday come-pst-1s
'I came yesterday to see you and to talk about some matter.'

b. [[*kumaar iṅkee va-ntu*] [*paṇam keeṭ-ṭ-aal*]]
Kumar here come-vbp money ask-cond
oṉṟ-um koṭu·kk-aat-ee
one-incl give-neg-emph
'If Kumar comes here and asks for money, don't give him anything.'

c. [[*naaṉ uṉa-kku vaaṅk-i·k*] [*koṭu-tt-a*]]
I you-dat buy-vbp give-pst-adj
puṭavai·y-ai uṉa-kku·p piṭi·kk-um-aa
sari-acc you-dat like-fu+3sn-Q
'Do you like the sari which I bought and gave you?'

In the examples given sofar, a verbal participle clause seems to have

been adjoined freely as conjunctive complement to another clause—be the latter finite or non-finite. However, in this way a verbal participle clause cannot be adjoined to another clause. There is a semantic constraint regarding the relation between the actions or events expressed by the two propositions. For instance, the following sentence, though syntactically well-formed, is semantically unacceptable:

(605) * [[*kumaar kaṭṭil-il tuuṅk-i·k*] [*kaṭal-il niint-in̲-aan̲*]]
Kumar cot-loc sleep-vbp sea-loc swim-pst-3sm
'Kumar slept on the cot and swam in the sea.'

Regarding the conjoining of two propositions by means of the verbal participle clause and another finite or (non-finite) clause, there is the semantic constraint that the actions or events of the two propositions must have a relation of 'natural relevance' (Lindholm 1975:78) or 'homogenity' (Paramasivam 1983:261). That is to say that there must be a natural or logical coherence between the two actions or events. Such a one is not given in (605), but in all previous examples.

Finally, in all our examples of the verbal participle clause occurring as conjunctive complement, the subject NPs of the verbal participle clause and the finite (or non-finite) clause to which the verbal participle clause was adjoined were coreferential and, consequently, one of the two NPs was deleted. Subject identity of the two clauses conjoined is the rule in the majority of cases. However, Lindholm (1975:31) demonstrates that there are also cases where the two subjects are different. See the following two examples adopted from Lindholm:

(606) a. [[*pakal pooy*] [*raattiri va-nt-atu*]]
day go+vbp night come-pst-3sn
'Daytime went and night came.'

b. [[*pan̲aṅkaaṭu muṭi-ntu*] [*oru paatai toon̲r̲-i·y-atu*]]
palmyra forest end-vbp a path appear-pst-3sn
'The palmyra forest ended and a path appeared.'

4.20

Verbal participle clause + *viṭ·ṭu/koṇ-ṭu*

When the verbal participle clause occurs as conjunctive complement, the semantic relation between the verbal participle clause and the finite (or non-finite) clause to which the former is adjoined is one of temporal or non-temporal 'and' relation. That is to say that the verbal participle

does not express a marked temporal relation. When, however, the verbal participle is followed by the verbal participles *viṭ·ṭu* or *koṇ-ṭu* of the auxiliary verbs *viṭu*, literally 'leave', and *koḷ*, literally 'hold', a temporally marked relation is expressed.

The auxiliary verb *viṭu*, discussed under 3.13, expresses the perfective aspect, that is completion of an action or event. In the context of the occurrence of a second event, completion of an event means that the event has been happened prior to and been completed before the second event. Thus when the auxiliary verb form *viṭ·ṭu* adjoins a verbal participle clause to another clause, it expresses the relation of temporal non-overlap or succession, as expressed by 'having ... -ed, after ... -ing' or 'and ... then' in English. See the following examples:

(607) a. [*kumaar caappiṭ·ṭu viṭ·ṭu*] [*viiṭ·ṭu-kku·p poo-n̲-aan̲*]
Kumar eat-vbp leave-vbp house-dat go-pst-3sm
'Kumar ate and then went home.'

b. [*oru vaaram-aaka veelai cey-tu viṭ·ṭu*] [*kumaar*
one week-adv work do-vbp leave-vbp Kumar
campaḷam vaaṅk-in̲-aan̲]
salary buy-pst-3sm
'Having worked for one week, Kumar received his salary'

c. [*paṭippu muṭi-ttu viṭ·ṭu*] [*kumaar*
study finish-vbp leave-vbp Kumar
veḷin̲aaṭ·ṭu-kku·p poo-v-aan̲]
foreign country-dat go-fu-3sm
'After finishing his studies, Kumar will go abroad.'

The above examples show also that except for the subject—verb agreement relation, the verbal participle form *viṭ·ṭu* breaks the determination of the semantic interpretation of the verbal participle by the finite verb with respect to the categories of tense, mood, etc. *viṭ·ṭu* has thus a disjunctive function (Lindholm 1975:84).

When the verbal participle form *koṇ-ṭu* of the auxiliary verb *koḷ*, literally meaning 'hold', is added to the verbal participle and adjoins a clause to another clause, it expresses the relation of temporal overlap or simultaneity (Lindholm 1975:89). See the following examples:

(608) a. [*kumaar kuḷi-ttu·k koṇ-ṭu*] [*paaṭ-in̲-aan̲*]
Kumar bathe-vbp hold-vbp sing-pst-3sm
'While Kumar was taking a bath, he sang.'

b. [*maṇṇ-il paṭu-ttu·k koṇ-ṭu*] [*kumaar taṉ*
sand-loc lie-vbp hold-vbp Kumar he(obl)
vaaẓkkai·y-ai·p paṟṟi yooci-tt-aaṉ]
life-acc about think-pst-3sm
'While Kumar was lying in the sand, he thought about his life.'

c. [*jaṉṉal arukil niṉ-ṟu koṇ-ṭu*] [*kumaar*
window near stand-vbp hold-vbp Kumar
teruv-il paar-tt-aaṉ]]
street-loc see-pst-3sm
'While standing near the window, Kumar looked on the street.'

Finally, compare a verbal participle clause occurring as conjunctive complement and expressing a temporal or non-temporal 'and ' relation, a verbal participle clause + *viṭ·ṭu*, expressing the temporal relation of succession 'and then', and a verbal participle clause + *koṇ-ṭu*, expressing the temporal relation of simultaneity 'while':

(609) a. [*kumaar katav-ai·t tiṟa-ntu*] [*uḷḷee va-nt-aaṉ*]
Kumar door-acc open-vbp in come-pst-3sm
'Kumar opened the door and came in.'

b. [*kumaar katav-ai·t tiṟa-ntu viṭ·ṭu*]
Kumar door-acc open-vbp leave-vbp
[*uḷḷee va-nt-aaṉ*]
in come-pst-3sm
'Having opened the door, Kumar came in.
(Kumar opened the door and then came in.)'

c. [*kumaar katav-ai·t tiṟa-ntu koṇ-ṭu*]
Kumar door-acc open-vbp hold-vbp
[*uḷḷee va-nt-aaṉ*]
in come-pst-3sm
'While opening the door, Kumar came in.'

4.21
Temporal/causal adverbial clause

Verbal participle clauses occur also as adverbial clauses, interpreted

either as a temporal or causal adverbial clause. When a verbal participle clause is interpreted as temporal adverbial clause, the subject is different from the one of the main clause. The temporal relation may be the 'after' relation, as in (610a), or the 'since' relation, as in (610b). Examples:

(610) a. [*aintu naaḷ kaẓi-ttu·k*] *kumaar iṅkee va-nt-aaṉ*
five day pass-vbp Kumar here come-pst-3sm
'After five days passed, Kumar came here.'

b. [*kumaar iṅkee va-ntu*] *muṉṟu varuṣam aay-iṟ-ṟu*
Kumar here come-vbp three year become-pst-3sn
'Since Kumar came here, three years have passed.'

When a verbal participle clause is interpreted as causal adverbial clause, the subject may be identical with the subject of the main clause, as in (611a), or different, as in (611b). Examples:

(611) a. [*kumaar ciṟiya vayat-il taay-ai iẓa-ntu*] *taay*
Kumar small age-loc mother-acc loose-vbp mother
paacam aṉupavi·kk-a·v-ill-ai·
affection experience-inf-be not-3pln
'Because Kumar lost his mother in young age, he didn't experience a mother's attachment.'

b. [*maẓai pey-tu*] *payir naṉṟ-aaka vaḷar-nt-atu*
rain fall-vbp crop goodness-adv grow-pst-3sn
'Because it rained, the crops grew well.'

4.22
Manner adverbial clauses

The verbal participle clause occurs also as manner adverbial clause, that is, describes the manner of an action or event or the means by which an action is performed. See the following examples:

(612) a. *kumaar taṉ paṇa-tt-ai·t* [*tiṉam kuṭi-ttu*]
Kumar he(obl) money-obl-acc daily drink-vbp
paaẓaakku-kiṟ-aaṉ
waste-pres-3sm
'Kumar wastes his money by drinking daily.'

b. *Kumaar [et-oo coll-i·k] kuzantai·y-ai·c*
Kumar which-ind say-vbp child-acc
camaataanappatutt-in-aan
console-pst-3sm
'By saying something, Kumar consoled the child.'

Frequently the verbal participle clause occurring as manner adverbial consists of the verbal predicate (that is the verbal participle) only. See the following examples:

(613) a. *kumaar [oot-i] va-nt-aan*
Kumar run-vbp come-pst-3sm
'Kumar came running.'

b. *kumaar [kuni-ntu] utkaar-nt-aan*
Kumar bend-vbp sit-pst-3sm
'Kumar was sitting bent down.'

c. *kumaar enn-ai·k [keñc-i·k] keet-t-aan*
Kumar I-acc implore-vbp ask-pst-3sm
'Kumar asked me imploringly.'

d. *anta moottar [totar-ntu] ootu-kir-atu*
that motor continue-vbp run-pres-3sn
'That motor runs continously.'

4.23
Verb complement
The final occurrence of the verbal participle clause to be discussed is the one of a verb complement. A verbal participle clause occurs as complement to verbs in a variety of contexts. A verbal participle clause occurs, for example, as complement to the aspectual verb *muti* 'finish'. Example:

(614) *kumaar [inta·p pustaka-tt-ai·p pati-ttu] ippootu*
Kumar this book-obl-acc read-vbp now
muti-tt-aan
finish-pst-3sm
'Kumar has now finished reading this book.'

Verbal participle clauses occur also as complements to perception verbs in alternation with infinitive clauses—see 4.12. This is illustrated by the following example:

(615) *[kumaar ivvalavu cattam-aaka·p peec-i] naan*
Kumar this much sound-adv speak-vbp I
itu varaikkum keet·k-a·v-ill-ai
this until ask-inf-be not-3pln
'Sofar I have not heard Kumar speaking that loud.'

Finally, verbal participle clauses occur as complements to the predicates *iru* 'be' or *il* 'be not' taking a restricted number of nouns as arguments. Examples:

(616) a. *[unn-ai·c coll-i·k] kurraam ill-ai*
you-acc say-vbp fault be not-3pln
'It is not a mistake to blame you.'

b. *kumaar-ukku·c [ciittu aat-i·p] pazakkam iru-kkir-atu*
Kumar-dat cards play-vbp habit be-pres-3sn
'Kumar has the habit of playing cards.'

c. *[kumaar-ai·k keet-tu·p] pirayooccanam ill-ai*
Kumar-acc ask-vbp use be not-3pln
'There is no use of asking Kumar.'

d. *[aṅkee pooy] enna pirayooccanam iru-kkir-atu*
there go-vbp what use be-pres-3sn
'What is the use of going there.'

4.24
Reduplication of verbal participle
The verbal participle occurring as predicate of a verbal participle clause with conjunctive complement, causal adverbial, and manner adverbial function can be reduplicated. Hereby, the concept of intensity, repetition, or continuity of an action or event is expressed. The following examples illustrate this.

(617) a. conjunctive complement
[kumaar kaaykari·y-ai·p paar-ttu·p paar-ttu]
Kumar vegetable-acc see-vbp see-vbp
vaaṅk-in-aan
buy-pst-3sm
'Kumar checked again and again the vegetables and bought them.'

b. causal adverbial
[*kumaar peec-i·p peec-i*] *avaṉ toṇṭai vaṟa-ntu*
Kumar talk-vbp talk-vbp he throat dry-vbp
pooy-iṟ-ṟu
go-pst-3sn
'Because Kumar was talking and talking, his throat got dry.'

c. manner adverbial
kumaar [*ciri-ttu·c ciri-ttu·p*] *peec-iṉ-aaṉ*
Kumar laugh-vbp laugh-vbp talk-pst-3sm
'Kumar talked laughing again and again.'

4.25
Verbal participle + *-um*

When the clitic *-um* is added to a verbal participle, the form verbal participle + *-um* expresses the concept of concession of fact. A clause with a verbal participle + *-um* as predicate occurs thus as concessive of fact adverbial clause, being the semantic equivalent of an 'although' clause in English. Examples:

(618) a. [*kumaar eṉṉ-ai·k kuuppiṭ·ṭ-um*] *naaṉ poo·k-a·v-ill-ai*
Kumar I-acc call-vbp-conc I go-inf be not-3pln
'Although Kumar called me, I didn't go.'

b. [*piccaikkaaraṉ pattu paicaa vaaṅk-i·y-um*]
beggar ten paisa get-vbp-conc
iṉṉum kuuṭa·k keeṭ-kiṟ-aaṉ
still more ask-pres-3sm
'Even though the beggar received ten paisa, he asked for more.'

4.26
Negative verbal participle clauses

The second type of verbal participle is the negative verbal participle. When a clause with a negative verbal participle is adjoined to another clause or embedded befor a verb, the semantic relation between the negative verbal participle clause and the clause to which it is adjoined, for instance, the finite clause, or the verb may be interpreted in various ways, depending often on the type of verb in the finite clause. The semantic relation may be the temporal and non-temporal 'and' relation,

simultaneity, cause, and purpose. In the following example, the negative verbal participle clause can be interpreted as conjunctive complement (reading a.) or as adverbial clause of simultaneity (reading b.).

(619) [*kumaar eṉṉ-ai·p paar·kk-aa-mal*] *viiṭ·ṭu-kku·p poo-ṉ-aaṉ*
Kumar I-acc see-neg-vbp house-dat go-pst-3sm
a. 'Kumar didn't look at me and went home.'
b. 'Without looking at me, Kumar went home.'

When the verb of the finite clause is a stative one, the negative verbal participle clause is interpreted as an adverbial clause of simultaneity only:

(620) [*kumaar oru vaarttai·y-ai·c coll-aa-mal*] *aṅkee niṉ-ṟ-aaṉ*
Kumar a word-acc say-neg-vbp there stand-pst-3sm
'Kumar stood there without saying a word.'

In the following example the negative verbal participle clause is interpreted as causal adverbial.

(621) [*maẓai niiṇ-ṭ-a naaḷ pey·y-aa-mal*] *payir*
rain extend-pst-adj day fall-neg-vbp crop
vaaṭ-i·p pooy-iṟ-ṟu
whither-vbp go-pst-3sn
'Since it has not rained for many days, the crops whithered.'

Finally, the verbs *taṭu* 'stop' and *paarttukkoḷ* 'look after' take a negative verbal participle clause as complement—in the case of *paarttukkoḷ* negative purpose is expressed. Examples:

(622) a. [*kumaar iṅkee var-aa-mal*] *taṭu-tt-eeṉ*
Kumar here come-neg-vbp stop-pst-1s
'I prevented Kumar from coming here.'

b. *kumaar* [*kuẓantai aẓ-aa-mal*] *paarttukkoṇ-ṭ-aaṉ*
Kumar child cry-neg-vbp look after-pst-3sm
'Kumar took care so that the child didn't cry.'

4.27
Co-ordination of positive and negative verbal participle clause

A verbal participle clause and its corresponding negative verbal clause

can be co-ordinated with the clitic *-um*. Hereby, all the identical material of the negative verbal participle clause is deleted so that only the negative verbal participle form is co-ordinated with the positive verbal participle clause. The co-ordinated construction functions as manner adverbial expressing that an action is only partially and not completely realized. See the following examples:

(623) a. [*kumaar enn-ai·p paar-tt-um paar·kk-aa-mal-um*]
Kumar I-acc see-vbp-co see-neg-vbp-co
teruv-ai·k kaṭa-nt-aan
street-acc cross-pst-3sm
'Kumar crossed the street without really looking at me.'

b. [*miiṅkoṭṭi tanṇiir-ai·t toṭ·ṭ-um toṭ-aa-mal-um*]
kingfisher water-acc touch-vbp-co touch-neg-vbp-co
para-nt-atu
fly-pst-3sn
'The kingfisher flew hardly touching the water.'

Conditional clauses
4.28
As shown under 1.52, Tamil distinguishes between a positive and a negative conditional form. The positive conditional form consists of the verb stem and the phoneme cluster of the past tense allomorphs + the suffix *-aal*. As mentioned under 1.52, the phoneme cluster of the past tense allomorphs has only the function of a phonological support and forms one grammatical unit with *-aal*. The negative conditional form consists of the verb stem + negative allomorph *-aa* + conditional suffix *-viṭṭaal*. A conditional clause occurs as an adjoined complement to a main clause. Hereby, in the majority of cases, a conditional clause expresses conditionality, that is the 'if' relation, as in the following example:

(624) [*kumaar va-nt·aal*] *naan avan-iṭam peecu-v-een*
Kumar come-cond I he-loc talk-fu-1s
'If Kumar comes, I will talk to him.'

However, as has been observed by Paramasivam (1983:247), there are cases where the conditional clause is interpreted as a temporal lause, that is, it has a factive interpretation. See the following example:

(625) *kaalai·y-il oru kaṭitam va-nt-atu.*
morning-loc a letter come-pst-3sn
[*at-ai·t tira-nt·aal*] *nuuru ruupaay uḷḷee iru-nt-atu*
it-acc open-cond hundred rupee inside be-pst-3sn
'This morning a letter came. When I opened it, one hundred rupees were inside.'

Finally note an example given by Paramasivam (1983:275), in which the conditional clause + clitics *taan-ee* occurs as main clause after another conditional clause:

(626) [*naan con-n·aal*] *avaḷ keeṭ-ṭ·aaḷ taan-ee*
I say-cond she ask-cond emph-emph
'If she had only listened when I told (her).'

In the following we will illustrate the various contexts of occurrence of the conditional clause.

4.29
Probable and improbable conditional
In the majority of cases a conditional clause is interpreted as a probable conditional clause, that is, it refers to a probable situation. Examples:

(627) a. [*mazai pey-t·aal*] *vanṭi nanai·y-um*
rain fall-cond vehicle get wet-fu+3sn
'If it rains, the car will get wet.'

b. [*kumaar va-nt·aal*] *naan unn-ai·k kuuppiṭu-v-een*
Kumar come-cond I you-acc call-fu-1s
'If Kumar comes, I will call you.'

(628) [*nii kanṭipp-aaka·p peec-aa-viṭṭaal*] *kumaar*
you strictness-adv talk-neg-cond Kumar
keeṭ·k-a maaṭṭ-aan
listen-inf will-3sm
'If you don't talk strictly, Kumar won't listen.'

A conditional clause can also be interpreted as improbable conditional clause, that is refer to a hypothetical situation. Example:

(629) [*e<u>n</u>a-kku oru laṭcam ruupaay iru-nt·aal*] *oru viiṭu*
I-dat a lakh rupee be-cond a house
kaṭṭu-v-ee<u>n</u>
build-fu-1s
'If I had one lakh of rupees, I would build a house.'

4.30
Counterfactual
When the predicate of a conditional clause is a compound verb construction consisting of a main verb in verbal participle form and the auxiliary verb *iru* inflected for the conditional form, a counter factual condition is expressed, that is, reference is made to a situation which has not or could not have happened. The main clause has, likewise, a compound verb construction as predicate, consisting of a main verb in verbal participle form and the auxiliary verb *iru*. See the following example:

(630) [*kumaar iṅkee va-ntu iru-nt·aal*] *naa<u>n</u> u<u>nn</u>-ai·k*
Kumar here come-vbp be-cond I you-acc
kuuppiṭ·ṭu iru-pp-ee<u>n</u>
call-vbp be-fu-1s
'If Kumar had come here, I would have called you.'

The negative counterfactual conditional is formed in two ways: in the first type of formation, the conditional clause contains as predicate a compound verb construction consisting of a main verb inflected for verbal participle form and the auxiliary verb *iru* inflected for negative conditional. In the second type of formation, the conditional clause contains as predicate a main verb in negative verbal participle form and the auxiliary verb *iru* inflected for positive conditional. In both types of formation, the main clause contains a compound verb construction consisting of a main verb in verbal participle form and the auxiliary verb *iru*. Example:

(631) [*kurivi* { *pa<u>r</u>a-ntu iru·kk-aa-viṭṭaal*
bird fly-vbp be-neg-cond
pa<u>r</u>a·kk-aa-mal/ *pa<u>r</u>a·kk-aatu iru-nt·aal*
fly-neg-vbp fly-neg+vbp be-cond }
kumaar at-ai·p piṭi-ttu iru-pp-aa<u>n</u>
Kumar it-acc catch-vbp be-fu-3sm
'If the bird had not flown away, Kumar would have caught it.'

4.31
Conditional clause + elliptical main clause
The main clause to which a conditional clause is adjoined may be an elliptical clause. In such a case, the latter will either consist only of a nominal predicate or the word *e<u>nn</u>a* 'what'. See the following two examples:

(632) a. [*nii ippootu a<u>z</u>u-t·aal*] *avamaana<u>n</u>am*
you now cry-cond shame
'If you cry now, it's a shame'

b. [*kumaar aṅkee poo-<u>n</u>·aal*] *e<u>nn</u>a*
Kumar there go-cond what
'What's wrong if Kumar goes there.'

4.32
Conditional + *-taa<u>n</u>*
The emphatic clitic *-taa<u>n</u>* 'only' is suffixed to the conditional to indicate that the occurrence of the event of the main clause is restricted to the fulfillment of the condition expressed by the conditional clause. Example:

(633) [*kumaar ni<u>r</u>aiya·p paṭi-tt·aal-taa<u>n</u>*] *tee<u>r</u>u-v-aa<u>n</u>*
Kumar a lot study-cond-emph pass exam-fu-3sm
'Only if Kumar studies a lot, he will pass the exam.'

4.33
Conditional + *-aavatu*
The clitic *-aavatu*, expressing the concept of minimum 'at least'—see 1.76, is suffixed to the conditional to indicate that the subject of the conditional clause is unwilling to perform the action of the conditional clause or that the event of the conditional clause is an expected event, which has not happened yet. Examples.

(634) a. [*kumaar iṅkee va-nt·aal-aavatu*] *ava<u>n</u>-iṭam*
Kumar here come-cond-at least he-loc
peec-a muṭi·y-um
talk-inf can-fu+3sn
'If at least Kumar would come here, one could talk with him.'

b. [*mazai pey-t·aal-aavatu*] *payir vaḷar-um*
rain fall-cond-at least crop grow-fu+3sn
'If at least it would rain, the crops would grow.'

4.34
Conditional + -*oẓiya*

The postposition *oẓiya* 'except' is cliticized and added to the conditional form to express negative conditionality 'unless'. See the following example:

(635) [*kumaar-ai·k kuuppiṭ·ṭ·aal-oẓiya*] *avan̲ var-a maaṭṭ-aan̲*
Kumar-acc call-cond-except he come-inf will-3sm
'Unless you invite Kumar, he won't come.'

4.35
Conditional + -*um*

When the clitic *-um* is added to the positive or negative conditional, the form conditional + *-um* is interpreted as concessive conditional 'even if' or concessive of fact 'even though', depending on the tense of the main clause.

When the verb of the main clause is inflected for future tense, the conditional + *-um* clause is interpreted as concessive conditional clause. See the following example:

(636) [*maẓai pey-t·aal-um*] *naaṅkaḷ veḷiyee viḷaiyaaṭu-v-oom*
rain fall-cond-conc we outside play-fu-1s
'Even if it rains, we will play outside.'

The verb of the main clause can also be inflected for past tense—as observed by Paramasivam (1983:273). In this case the conditional + *-um* clause is interpreted as concessive of fact 'even though', being semantically identical to a verbal participle + *-um* clause, see 4.24. Example:

(637) [*kumaar raajaa·v-ai veṟu-tt·aal-um*] *avan̲ piṟantan̲aaḷ*
Kumar Raja-acc hate-cond-conc he birthday
viẓaa·v-ukku·p poo-n̲-aan̲
party-dat go-pst-3sm
'Even though Kumar hates Raja, he went to his birthday party.'

4.36
Indefinite concessive clause

When a clause with a conditional + *-um* form as predicate, that is a concessive clause, contains an unspecified element in the form of an interrogative expression, an indefinite concessive clause is formed. Examples:

(638) a. [*yaar iṅkee va-nt·aal-um*] *naan̲ katav-ai·t*
who here come-cond-conc I door-acc
tiṟa·kk-a maaṭṭ-een̲
open-inf will-1s
'No matter who comes here, I won't open the door.'

b. [*naan̲ enn̲a con̲-n̲·aal-um*] *kumaar-ukku aaṭcepam*
I what say-cond-conc Kumar-dat objection
'No matter what I say, Kumar has objections.'

c. [*evvaḷavu neeram aa-n̲·aal-um*] *naan̲ iṅkee*
how much time become-cond-conc I here
kaattiru-pp-een̲
wait-fu-1s
'No matter how long it takes, I will wait here.'

d. [*kumaar eṅkee poo-n̲·aal-um*] *naan̲ kavalaippaṭ-a*
Kumar where go-cond-conc I worry-inf
maaṭṭ-een̲
will-1s
'No matter where Kumar goes, I won't care.'

The main clause to which the conditional + *-um* clause is adjoined can also contain an expression which is coreferential with the interrogative expression. Hereby, the coreferential expression in the main clause occurs as *a-* demonstrative expression. As a result, the conditional + *-um* clause and the main clause contain a correlative pair of an *e-* interrogative expression and an *a-* demonstrative expression. See the following two examples:

(639) [*yaar iṅkee va-nt·aal-um*] *inta iṭa-tt-ai*
who here come-cond-conc this place-obl-acc
avar-ukku·p piṭi·kk-aa-tu
he-dat like-neg-3sn
'No matter who comes here, he won't like this place.'

(640) [*naan̲ et-ai·c con̲-n̲-aal-um*] *kumaar at-ai*
I which-acc say-cond-conc Kumar it-acc
eer̲ukkoḷḷ-a maaṭṭ-aan̲
accept-inf will-3sm
'No matter what I say, Kumar won't accept it.'

The above two examples contain the correlative pairs of *yaar—avar* and *etu—atu*, respectively.

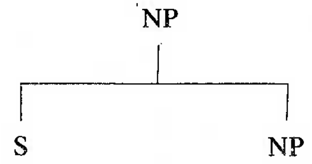
4.37
Alternative condition
Two conditional clauses can be conjoined with the two co-ordinating clitics *-um* or *-oo* to express the concept of two contrasting conditions 'whether—or'. Hereby, identical material of the second conditional clause—except the verb—is deleted. The alternative expressed by the two conditional clauses may be one of two contrasting events, as in (641), or of the occurrence or non-occurrence of an event, as in (642). Examples:

(641) [*kumaar iṅkee va-nt·aal-um/-oo naan̲ aṅkee*
Kumar here come-cond-co I there
poo-n̲·aal-um/-oo] *appaa·v-ukku·p piṭi·kk-aa-tu*
go-cond-co father-dat like-neg-3sn
'Whether Kumar comes here or I go there, father won't like it.'

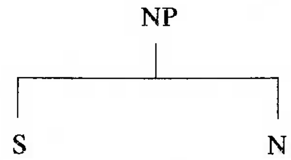
(642) [*kumaar en̲n̲-ai·k kuuppiṭ·ṭ·aal-um/-oo*
Kumar I-acc call-cond-co
kuuppiṭ-aa-viṭṭaal-um/-oo] *naan̲ aṅkee poo-v-een̲*
call-neg-cond-co I there go-fu-1s
'Whether Kumar calls me or not, I will go there.'

Adjectival clauses
4.38
The forms of the adjecival participle have been given under 1.53. Accordingly, Tamil distinguishes four types of adjectival participles: three marked for the three tenses and a tenseless negative one. The structure of these adjectival participles is verb stem + past, present tense, or negative suffix *-aat* + adjectival suffix *-a*, and, in the case of the future adjectival participle, verb stem + suffix *-um*, which represents both future tense and the adjectival morpheme. The adjectival

participle is thus the only tensed non-finite verb form. Syntactically, an adjectival clause occurs always in noun phrase complementation. As such, it occurs either as complement to the left side of a head noun phrase:

(643)


or as complement to the left side of a head noun:

(644)


See the following examples of adjectival clauses embedded before a head noun phrase.

(645) a. [$_{NP}$ [$_{S}$ *neer̲r̲u iṅkee va-nt-a*] [$_{NP}$ *anta·p*
yesterday here come-pst-adj that
paiyan̲-ai]] *naan̲ in̲r̲u paar-tt-een̲*
boy-acc I today see-pst-1s
'Today I saw that boy who came here yesterday.'

b. [$_{NP}$ [$_{S}$ *niiṅkaḷ kaalai·y-il vaaṅk-i·y-a*]
you(pl) morning-loc buy-pst-adj
[$_{NP}$ *paal-ai·y-um roṭṭi·y-ai·y-um*]] *kuḻantai*
milk-acc-co bread-acc-co child
caappiṭ·ṭ-atu
eat-pst-3sn
'The child ate the milk and bread which you had bought in the morning.'

(646) a. [$_{NP}$ [$_{S}$ *oru mantiri varu-kir̲-a*] [$_{NP}$ *anta vatanti·y-ai*]]
a minister come-pres-adj that rumor-acc
naan̲ keeṭ-ṭ-een̲
I hear-pst-1s
'I heard the rumor that a minister would come.'

b. [$_{NP}$ [$_{S}$ *vipatt-il* *niṟaiya·p* *peer* *aṭippaṭ-ṭ-a*]
accident-loc many people get injured-pst-adj
[$_{NP}$ *anta* *atircci·y-aaṉa* *ceyti*]] *pattirikkai·y-il*
that schock-adj news paper-loc
va-nt-atu
come-pst-3sn
'The schocking news that many people got injured in the accident came in the paper.'

While the adjectival clauses in (645) are interpreted as relative clauses, those in (646) are interpreted as appositive clauses. Both types of adjectival clauses have been analyzed in detail in Annamalai (1969) and will be discussed in the following:

4.39
Adjectival relative clauses

A relative clause is a clause which modifies a noun phrase such that it determines the referent of the NP by giving a proposition in which the referent of the NP is involved. This entails that the relative clause contains a NP which is interpreted as coreferential with the NP modified by the relative clause. In other words, the head NP before which the relative clause is embedded is represented in the relative clause. In the case of adjectival clauses interpreted as relative clause, the head NP is represented by zero in the relative clause, that is, it is not overtly expressed. Consider sentence (645a). The clause embedded as adjectival clause is an intransitive sentence and requires as such one subject NP argument. In the adjectival clause of (645a), there is, however, no overt subject argument NP. The missing subject argument of the adjectival participle is interpreted as coreferential with the head NP. In (645b), the clause embedded as adjectival clause is transitive and requires an object argument NP. There is, however, no overt object NP in the adjectival clause. The object argument of the transitive adjectival participle is understood as coreferential with the head NP. There are two possible ways of analysis of the fact that (i) there is a NP gap present in the adjectival relative clause on surface structure and (ii) the NP absent on surface structure is interpreted as coreferential with the overt head NP of the construction. First, we can assume that the missing NP in the adjectival clause is raised rightward into the head NP position. The raising analysis corresponds to the extraction analysis given in Annamalai (1969). Second, we can assume that the missing NP in the adjectival clause has been deleted on surface structure, being coreferential with the head NP. To this analysis we will refer as the Equi NP Deletion analysis. Both types of analyses will be illustrated in the following. We will first present the raising analysis. Consider sentence (645a) repeated here for convenience as (647):

(647) [$_{NP}$ [$_{S}$ *neeṟṟu* *iṅkee* *va-nt-a*] [$_{NP}$ *anta·p* *paiyaṉ-ai*]]
yesterday here come-pst-adj that boy-acc
naaṉ *iṉṟu* *paar-tt-eeṉ*
I today see-pst-1s
'Today I saw that boy who came here yesterday.'

According to the raising analysis, a clause is embedded as adjectival clause before an empty head NP in underlying structure. This can be represented as follows:

(648) [$_{NP}$ [$_{S}$ *neeṟṟu* *anta·p* *paiyaṉ* *iṅkee* *va-nt-a*] [$_{NP}$]]
yesterday that boy here come-pst-adj
naaṉ *iṉṟu* *paar-tt-eeṉ*
I today see-pst-1s

The subject NP of the embedded S, that is *anta·p paiyaṉ* 'that boy', is raised out of the embedded S rightward to the empty head NP position, leaving a NP gap in the adjectival clause, as shown in the surface structure of (647).

According to the Equi NP Deletion analysis, a clause is embedded in underlying structure as adjectival clause before a head NP which is lexically specified and coreferential with one of the NPs of the embedded adjectival clause. This can be represented in the case of (647) as follows:

(649) [$_{NP}$ [$_{S}$ *neeṟṟu* *anta·p* *paiyaṉ* *iṅkee* *va-nt-a*]
yesterday that boy here come-pst-adj
[$_{N}$P *anta·p* *paiyaṉ*]] *naaṉ* *iṉṟu* *paar-tt-eeṉ*
that boy I today see-pst-1s

The subject of the embedded adjectival clause *anta·p paiyaṉ*, being coreferential with the head NP, is then deleted by Equi NP Deletion, giving the surface structure of (647).

4.40
Constraints on relativization

The relativization of a NP on the adjectival clause strategy is very much constrained. This has been investigated in detail by Annamalai (1969:

127-238) and Steever (1981a: chapter seven). First, there are constraints regarding the embedding of a clause as adjectival clause or non-finite verb form clause in general. This will be discussed below under 4.59. Consequently, any NP occurring in a sentence constrained in this way cannot be relativized. Second, there are constraints on relativization with respect to the semantic role of the NP to be relativized and its case marking. In the following we will deal with these constraints.

Nominative and accusative NPs, e.g. *oru naay* and *kumaar-ai* in (650a), can be relativized, as shown by (650b) and (650c).

(650) a. *oru naay kumaar-ai·k kaṭi-tt-atu*
a dog Kumar-acc beat-pst-3sn
'A dog bit Kumar.'

b. *kumaar-ai·k kaṭi-tt-a naay ooṭ-i·p pooy-iṟ-ṟu*
Kumar-acc beat-pst-adj dog run-vbp go-pst-3sn
'The dog which bit Kumar ran away.'

c. *oru naay kaṭi-tt-a kumaar aṭippaṭ·ṭ-aan̠*
a dog bite-pst-adj Kumar beat-pst-3sm
'Kumar, whom a dog bit, got injured.'

Dative case NPs with the syntactic/semantic functions of indirect object, e.g. *kumaar-ukku* in (651a), goal of motion, e.g. *koovil-ukku* in (652a), and recipient of experience, e.g. *raajaa·v-ukku* in (653a), can be relativized. Examples:

(651) a. *naan̠ kumaar-ukku·p paṇam koṭu-tt-een̠*
I Kumar-dat money give-pst-1s
'I gave money to Kumar.'

b. *naan̠ paṇam koṭu-tt-a kumaar iṅkee varu-kiṟ-aan̠*
I money give-pst-adj Kumar here come-pres-3sm
'Kumar, to whom I gave money, is coming here.'

(652) a. *kumaar koovil-ukku·p poo-n̠-aan̠*
Kumar temple-dat go-pst-3sm
'Kumar went to the temple.'

b. *kumaar poo-n̠-a koovil-il oru viḻaa*
Kumar go-pst-adj temple-loc a festival
naṭa-nt-atu
take place-pst-3sn
'A festival took place at the temple to which Kumar went.'

(653) a. *raajaa·v-ukku·k kumaar-ai·p piṭi·kk-aa-tu*
Raja-dat Kumar-acc like-neg-3sn
'Raja doesn't like Kumar.'

b. *kumaar-ai·p piṭi·kk-aat-a raajaa avan̠-ai·t*
Kumar-acc like-neg-adj Raja he-acc
tiṭṭ-in̠-aan̠
scold-pst-3sm
'Raja, who doesn't like Kumar, scolded him.'

However, as observed by Annamalai (1969), dative case NPs with the semantic role of purpose cannot be relativized:

(654) a. *kumaar teervu-kku·p paṭi-kkiṟ-aan̠*
Kumar exam-dat study-pres-3sm
'Kumar studies for the exam.'

b. * *kumaar paṭi-kkiṟ-a teervu en̠ṟai-kku*
Kumar study-pres-adj exam what day-dat
'On what day is the exam for which Kumar studies?'

NPs marked for instrumental case can be relativized when they have the semantic function of instrument, e.g. *caavi·y-aal* in (655a), or of source/material, e.g. *maṇṇ-aal* in (656a).

(655) a. *kumaar katav-ai·c caavi·y-aal puuṭṭ-in̠-aan̠*
Kumar door-acc key-inst lock-pst-3sm
'Kumar locked the door with the key.'

b. *kumaar katav-ai·p puuṭṭ-i·y-a caavi·y-ai·t*
Kumar door-acc lock-pst-adj key-acc
tolai-tt-aan̠
loose-pst-3sm
'Kumar lost the key with which he locked the door.'

(656) a. *raajaa maṇṇ-aal pommai cey-t-aan̠*
Raja clay-inst doll do-pst-3sm
'Raja made a doll out of clay.'

b. *raajaa pommai cey-t-a maṇ cikapp-aaka iru-nt-atu*
Raja doll do-pst-adj clay redness-adv be-pst-3sn
'The clay out of which Raja made a doll was red.'

However, instrumental case NPs expressing the semantic role of cause cannot be relativized, as noted by Annamalai (1969):

(657) a. *nooyaali peeti·y-aal cettu viṭ·ṭ-aan̲*
patient cholera-inst die+vbp leave-pst-3sm
'The patient died because of cholera.'

b. * *nooyaali cettu viṭ·ṭ-a peeti mikavum*
patient die+vbp leave-pst-adj cholera much
parav-i·y-atu
spread-pst-3sn
'The cholera, because oi which the patient died, spread a lot.'

NPs marked for sociative case cannot be relativized. This is illustrated by the following examples:

(658) a. *kumaar oru peṇṇ-ooṭu/-uṭan̲ va-nt-aan̲*
Kumar a girl-soc come-pst-3sm
'Kumar came with a girl.'

b. * *kumaar va-nt-a peṇ oru naṭikai*
Kumar come-pst-adj girl a actress
'The girl that Kumar came with is an actress.'

Steever (1981a:chapter seven) argues that NPs with bound postpositions cannot be relativized since otherwise a bound postposition would be stranded. The sociative case marker *-uṭan̲* has the categorical status of a bound postposition . Thus the constraint on NPs with bound postpositions exlpains that NPs with the sociative case marker *-uṭan̲* cannot be relativized. The fact that NPs with the sociative case marker *-ooṭu* can also not be relativized suggests then that the bound form *-ooṭu* is not a case suffix, as analyzed from traditional Tamil grammarians onwards, but a bound postposition.

Turning to locative NPs, there are two case markers: the case suffix *-il* and the bound postposition *-iṭam*. As expected, locative case NPs with the case suffix *-il* can be relativized, as shown by (659). However, locative NPs with the bound postposition *-iṭam* cannot—see (660).

(659) a. *kumaar oru naar̲kaali·y-il uṭkaar-nt-aan̲*
Kumar a chair-loc sit-pst-3sm
'Kumar was sitting on a chair.'

b. *kumaar uṭkaar-nt-a naar̲kaali uṭai-nt-atu*
Kumar sit-pst-adj chair break-pst-3sn
'The chair on which Kumar was sitting broke.'

(660) a. *kuẓantai ammaa·v-iṭam ooṭ-i·y-atu*
child mother-loc run-pst-3sn
'The child ran to his mother.'

b. * *kuẓantai ooṭ-i·y-a ammaa at-ai·t tuukk-in̲-aarkaḷ*
child run-pst-adj mother it-acc lift-pst-3pl
'The mother to whom the child ran lifted it up.'

Ablative case NPs are marked by the bound postposition *-iruntu*. Consequently, they cannot be relativized since otherwise a bound postposition would be stranded. Example:

(661) a. *neer̲r̲u oru peṇṇ-iṭam-iruntu oru kaṭitam va-nt-atu*
yesterday a girl-loc-abl a letter come-pst-3sn
'Yesteray a letter came from a girl.'

b. * *neer̲r̲u oru kaṭitam va-nt-a peṇṇ-ai*
yesterday a letter come-pst-adj girl-acc
en̲a-kku·t teri·y-aa-tu
I-dat know-neg-3sn
'I don't know the girl from whom a letter came yesterday.'

However, Steever (1981a: chapter seven) observes that there is a strategy to relativize ablative case NPs with a bound postposition. If the head NP of the adjectival clause is identical with the relativized NP (including ablative case marking), the relativized NP plus bound postposition can be deleted under identity. This is illustrated for (661a) by the following example:

(662) *neer̲r̲u oru kaṭitam va-nt-a peṇṇ-iṭam-iruntu*
yesterday a letter come-pst-adj girl-loc-abl
in̲r̲-um oru kaṭitam va-nt-atu
today a letter come-pst-3sn
'Today also a letter came from the girl from whom a letter came yesterday.'

Genitive NPs marked with the case suffix *-atu* cannot be relativized. Example:

(663) a. *naay ammaa·v-in-atu puṭavai·y-ai·k kiẓi-tt-atu*
dog mother-euph-gen sari-acc tear-pst-3sn
'The dog tore mother's sari.'

b. * *naay puṭavai·y-ai·k kiẓi-tt-a ammaa at-ai*
dog sari-acc tear-pst-adj mother it-acc
aṭi-tt-aarkaḷ
beat-pst-3pl
'Mother, whose sari the dog tore, beat it (the dog).'

Both Annamalai (1969) and Steever (1981a: chapter seven) claim that NPs occurring in a postpositional phrase with a free postposition can be relativized, leaving a postposition without a noun phrase argument behind. However, this is only possible with a restricted number of postpositions, e.g. *iṭaiyil* 'in the middle of'. Example:

(664) a. *koovil-ukku iṭaiyil oru kuḷam iru-kkir-atu*
temple-dat in the middle of a tank be-pres-3sn
'There is a tank in the middle of the temple.'

b. *iṭaiyil oru kuḷam iru-kkir-a koovil-ukku·k*
in the middle of a tank be-pres-adj temple-dat
kumaar poo-n-aan
Kumar go-pst-3sm
'Kumar went to the temple, in the middle of which a tank is.'

A large number of postpositions, e.g. *parri* 'about', do not allow relativization of its argument NP. Example:

(665) a. *kumaar oru uur-ai·p parri·p peec-in-aan*
Kumar a place-acc about talk-pst-3sm
'Kumar talked about a place.'

b. * *kumaar parri·p peec-i·y-a uur maturai*
Kumar about talk-pst-adj place Madurai
'The place about which Kumar talked was Madurai.'

Finally note that NPs consisting of a noun + *-aaka* construction—see 2.34-49—and functioning as manner adverbials can also be relativized. Example:

(666) a. *kutirai veekam-aaka ooṭ-iy-atu*
horse speed-adv run-pst-3sn
'The horse ran fast (with speed).'

b. *kutirai ooṭ-i·y-a veekam enn-ai*
horse run-pst-adj speed I-acc
aaccariyappaṭutt-i·y-atu
surprise-pst-3sn
'The speed with which the horse ran surprised me.'

4.41
Appositive adjectival clauses

A comparison of the adjectival clauses in (645) and (646) shows that while the adjectival clauses in (645), which are interpreted as relative clauses, have a NP gap—that is a NP missing on surface structure, the adjectival clauses in (646) do not. Moreover, the adjectival clauses in (646), which are interpreted as appositive clauses, do not have a NP in underlying or surface structure, which is interpreted as coreferential with the head NP. Thus, in appositive adjectival clauses the head NP is not represented. When an adjectival clause occurrs as appositive clause, it has the function to describe or characterize the content of the head noun phrase. As mentioned in the grammatical literature, adjectival clauses interpreted as appositive clauses are restricted to occur with head noun phrases whose head noun consists of an abstract noun, as, for example, *nampikkai* 'belief', *kavalai* 'concern', *ceyti* 'news', *eṇṇam* 'thought', *muṭivu*, 'decision', *pukar* 'complaint', etc. See the following examples:

(667) a. [$_{NP}$ [$_{S}$ *aaṇ kuẓantai pira-nt-a*] [$_{NP}$ *anta·c*
male child be born-pst-adj that
cantooṣam-aana ceyti·y-ai·k]] *keeṭ-ṭ-een*
happiness-adj news-acc hear-pst-1s
'I heard that happy news that a male child was born.'

b. [$_{NP}$ [$_{S}$ *kumaar inta·t tapp-ai·c cey-t-a*]
Kumar this mistake-acc do-pst-adj
[$_{NP}$ *uṇmai*]] *veḷiyee va-nt-atu*
truth out come-pst-3sn
'The truth that Kumar made this mistake came out.'

When the head noun phrase of the appositive clause contains a modality noun like *muṭivu* 'decision', *aacai* 'wish', *tiṭṭam* 'plan', *tiramai* 'capacity', or *vaayppu* 'opportunity' as head noun, the appositive clause describes an unrealized event. Therefore, the past tense, which expresses a realized event, cannot occur in the adjectival clause. Example:

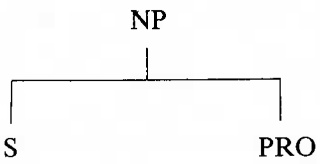
(668) *kumaar-ukku* [$_{NP}$ [$_S$ *amerikkaa·v-ukku·p poo-kiṟ-a*/
Kumar-dat America-dat go-pres-adj
poo·k-um] [$_{NP}$ *aacai*]] *iru-kkiṟ-atu*
go-fu+adj desire be-pres-3sn
'Kumar has the wish to go to America.'

Finally, Annamalai (1969) gives interesting examples in which the head noun phrase of the appositive adjectival clause does not contain an abstract noun and the appositive clause describes the reason for what is expressed by the head NP. Example:

(669) [$_{NP}$ [$_S$ *naaṉ kiiḻee viḻu-nt-a*] [$_{NP}$ *kaayam*]]
I down fall-pst-adj wound
vali-kkiṟ-atu
hurt-pres-3sn
'The wound from/due to falling down hurts.'

Participial nouns
4.42
After the illustration of relative and appositive clauses—as instantiated by adjectival clauses—and the syntactic construction in which they occur, that is the complex noun phrase, we are in a position to deal in more detail with a particular morphological process in Tamil, already described under 1.55: the participial noun. The respective morphological process realizes a complex NP, strictly speaking, the verbal predicate of a relative clause and its pronominal head NP, by one word form—the participial noun. Thus, syntactically, the combination of a verb, that is the predicate of a relative clause, and a bound pronominal is an instantiation of the combination of a relative clause with a pronominal head NP as represented by the following:

(670)



When in a structure of the above type, the pronominal head consists of a first or second person pronoun, the respective pronominal head occurs as a free personal pronoun, modified by an adjectival clause, as shown

by (671a) and (671b). However, when the pronominal head consists of a third person pronoun, the pronominal head cannot be realized by a free personal pronoun, as shown by (671c). Instead, the pronominal head is realized by a third person pronoun occurring as bound form and combining with the verbal predicate of the preceding clause to one word form, the participial noun, as shown by (671d):

(671) a. *iṅkee veelai cey-kiṟ-a naaṉ*
here work do-pres-adj I
'I who work here'

b. *iṅkee veelai cey-kiṟ-a nii*
here work do-pres-adj you
'you who work here'

c. * *iṅkee veelai cey-kiṟ-a avaṉ*
here work do-pres-adj he
'he who works here'

d. *iṅkee veelai cey-kiṟ-avaṉ*
here work do-pres-he
'he who works here'

A participial noun form like *cey-kiṟ-avaṉ* in (671d) has been analyzed under 1.55 as the combination of a tensed verb with a remote demonstrative third person pronoun occurring as bound form. See 1.55 for a detailed discussion. In Old Tamil, however, a second type of a participial noun occurs predominantly. In this type the pronominal head combining with the tensed verb is realized by a pronominal suffix. Moreover, a pronominal suffix of all three persons occurs. As a result, the form of this type of participial noun is formally identical with a finite verb form, which has the identical word structure: verb stem + tense suffix + pronominal suffix. Thus a form like *varu-v-eeṉ* 'come-fu-1s' in Old Tamil can be a finite verb form, meaning 'I will come', or a participial noun, meaning 'I who will come', depending on whether the pronomimal suffix *-eeṉ* has the function of an agreement marker or of a pronominal which occurs as head of a complex NP. In Modern Tamil only one form of this type of participial noun does still occur: the one with the future tense suffix and the third person-plural-epicene suffix *-oor*, e.g. *naṭi-pp-oor* 'they who (will) act'. See the following example taken from a novel by Jeyakanthan (1964:55):

(672) *anta paaktar-il veelai cey-v-oor-kku enna campaḷam*
that factory-loc work do-fu-3pl-dat what salary
koṭu-kkir-atu ...
give-pres-nom
'What salary should one give to those (them) who work in the factory ...'

In (672) the pronominal head of a complex NP is realized by the pronominal suffix *-oor*, which forms with the tensed verb of the preceding clause one word form—the participial noun, marked for dative case with the suffix *-kku*. Note that the distinction of these two types of participial nouns is purely morphological and not syntactic. One and the same syntactic structure, given under (670), can be realized morphologically in two ways by attaching two different forms of a pronominal to the tensed verb. After the discussion of the formal aspects of the participial noun, we will now deal with its syntax and semantics in more detail.

As illustrated under (671), the participial noun phrase complements a missing combination of an adjectival clause with a free third person pronoun to a complex noun phrase. As such a participial noun phrase is structurally identical with a complex noun phrase consisting of an adjectival relative clause and a pronominal head NP. We mentioned under 4.39 that an adjectival clause interpreted as relative clause contains a NP gap and the head NP is interpreted as coreferential with that non-overt NP. Similarly, in a participial noun phrase, the tensed verbal clause, which is interpreted as relative clause and whose verbal predicate combines with the pronominal head NP to one word form, contains a NP gap and the pronominal head is interpreted as coreferential with that non-overt NP. See the following example:

(673) a. *naan neerru paar-tt-a paiyan inru inkee*
I yesterday see-pst-adj boy today here
va-nt-aan
come-pst-3sm
'The boy that I saw yesterday came here today.'

b. *naan neerru paar-tt-avan inru inkee va-nt-aan*
I yesterday see-pst-he today here come-pst-3sm
'He (the one) that I saw yesterday came here today.'

In (673a) the adjectival clause lacks a direct object NP and the head NP is interpreted as coreferential with that NP. Likewise in (673b) the tensed verbal clause, whose verbal predicate combines with the pronominal head to the participial noun form, lacks a direct object NP and the pronominal head NP is interpreted as co-referential with that object noun phrase.

According to our analysis, the pronominal head of the participial noun consists of the remote demonstrative personal pronoun, e.g. *avan* 'he' in (673b). Note that in this context the respective pronoun does not have a demonstrative function. We mentioned under 2.3 that Tamil does not have third person personal pronouns but pairs of third person demonstrative personal pronouns, e.g. the remote demonstrative personal pronoun *avan* 'that he' vs. the proximate demonstrative personal pronoun *ivan* 'this he'. The demonstrative function of these pronouns is, however, only in effect in that context in which both pronouns occur as contrasting elements, that is in the context of deixis. In the context of anaphora, there is no contrast between remote vs. proximate demonstrative pronouns. Thus only remote demonstrative personal pronouns occur and in this case they function only as pronominals. In the participial noun phrase, the bound pronominal occurs never as demonstrative pronoun but always as pronominal, and thus only the remote demonstrative personal ponouns occur as bound forms. The participial noun phrase as a whole—not only its pronominal head—occurs as a complex NP with the following three functions: (i) anaphoric function, (ii) deictic function, and (iii) non-anaphoric and non-deictic function.

With anaphoric function the pronominal head of the participial noun phrase has an antecedent in the co-text, that is in the same or preceding sentence. In the case of anaphora, a distinction has been made between a pro-nominal and a pro-noun (Lyons 1977:658). The same holds good for the pronominal head of the participial noun phrase. The pronominal head can be a pro-nominal, that is, it can be coreferential with the antecedent. In this case the second occurrence of a coreferential NP is realized by a pro-nominal. The pronominal head can also be a pro-noun, that is it can be not coreferential but only identical with the antecedent. In this case the pro-noun substitutes a repeated noun. See first an example of a participial noun phrase in which the pronominal head is coreferential with an antecedent.

(674) *kumaar pattu laṭcam ruupaay vaank-in-aan.*
Kumar ten lakh rupee get-pst-3sm
ivvaḷavu paṇam vaank-i-y-avan evvaḷavu cantooṣam-aaka
this much money get-pst-he how much happiness-adv
vaaẓ-v-aan
live-fu-3sm
'Kumar got ten lakh rupees. How happily will he live who got that much money.'

In (674) the pronominal head of the participial noun *vaaṅk-i·y-avan̲* 'he who got' is coreferential with the NP *kumaar* —its antecedent. In the following example, the pronominal head is not coreferential with its antecedent but only identical.

(675) *kumaar poon̲a varuṣam eer̲paaṭupaṇṇ-i·y-a kacceri·y-um*
Kumar last year arrange-pst-adj concert-co
[*inta varuṣam eer̲paaṭupaṇṇ-i·y-at*]-*um nan̲r̲-aaka*
this year arrange-pst-it-co goodness-adv
naṭa-nt-atu
take place-pst-3sn
'The concert which Kumar arranged last year and the one which he arranged this year went well.'

In (675) the pronominal head of the participial noun *eer̲paaṭupaṇṇ-i·y-atu* 'the one which (he) arranged' is not coreferential with its antecedent but substitutes only the identical head noun *kacceri* 'concert' of the antecedent. With deictic function the participial noun phrase does not have an antecedent in the co-text but a referent in the spatio-temporal context of the utterance. See the following example:

(676) [*iṅkee nir̲-kir̲-avan̲*] *uṅkaḷ-ai·k kuuppiṭ·ṭ-aan̲*
here stand-pres-he you(pl)-acc call-pst-3sm
'The one who stands here has called you.'

In (676) the referent of the pronominal head of the participial noun phrase is present in the situation of the utterance and identified by the deictic function of the participial noun phrase. Note that the deictic function, remote vs. proximate, is not realized by the pronominal head but by the spatial adverb *iṅkee* 'here' of the tensed verbal clause. Thus deixis is not expressed by the pronominal head itself but by deictic elements of the relative clause within the participial noun phrase.

With the third function, non-anaphoric—non-deictic, the participial noun phrase does not only have no antecedent in the co-text but also no referent present in the context of utterance. Instead, its pronominal head functions as indefinite pronominal. In the following two examples the participial noun phrase occurs as specific and non-specific indefinite pronominal, respectively:

(677) [*neer̲r̲u iṅkee va-nt-avan̲*] *yaar*
yesterday here come-pst-he who
'Who is the (male) one who came yesterday.'

(678) *kumaar* [*on̲r̲-um teri·y-aat-avan̲*] *maatiri peec-in̲-aan̲*
Kumar one-incl know-neg-he like talk-pst-3sm
'Kumar talked like some (male) one who doesn't know anything.'

Nominalized clauses

4.43

Nominalization is generally analyzed in the grammatical literature as the embedding of a clause under a noun phrase so that a clause occurs as a noun phrase, as shown by the following representation:

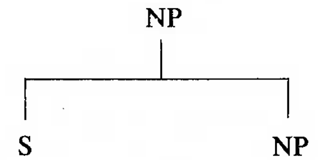
(679)



Hereby, the verbal predicate of the embedded clause is nominalized, that is appears in verbal noun form marked with an inflectional suffix, e.g. the nominalizing suffix *-atu* in the verbal noun form *va-nt-atu*. Since the verb occurs in clause final position, the nominalized clause is marked at its end for a noun phrase and can take case markers.

There is, however, also an alternative analysis for nominalization in Tamil. Nominalization can be analyzed as a morphological rather than a syntactic process. In the structure of a complex NP, as shown by (680):

(680)



the verbal predicate of the embedded clause, which occurs in clause final position, combines morphologically with a bound nominal, the head NP of the construction, to one word form—commonly referred to as nominalized verb or verbal noun. The nominalizing suffix, e.g. *-atu*, is thus not an inflectional suffix but an abstract nominal meaning 'the fact that' or 'the event of', e.g. *va-nt-atu* 'the fact that X came' or 'the event of X's coming'. According to this analysis the verbal noun parallels the participial noun. The difference between the two lies in the categorical status of the bound nominal that combines with the verb: in the case of the participial noun, a pronominal, and in the case of the verbal noun, an abstract nominal.

As shown under 1.54, Modern Tamil distinguishes between two types of verbal nouns: tensed and untensed verbal nouns and thus two types of verbal noun clauses. In the following we will concentrate on tensed verbal noun clauses since they occur most frequently. First, however, we will briefly deal with untensed verbal nouns.

Untensed verbal noun clauses

4.44

As shown under 1.54, Tamil distinguishes three types of untensed verbal nouns according to the type of nominal suffix. Both in terms of occurrence and assumption of syntactic functions, the three types of untensed verbal noun clauses are very much restricted in Modern Tamil. They do not occur in all NP positions, do not assume all syntactic functions of a NP, and do not occur with all case markers.

4.45

Verbal noun with *-al*

Verbal nouns formed with the suffix *-al*, e.g. *cey-al*, occur as main verbs in various compound verb constructions with the auxiliary verb *aaku*, see 3.15, 22, 23. Rangan (1970) notes that other modal auxiliary verbs, e.g. *veeṇṭu* 'want', can also occur with this type of verbal noun:

(681) *kumaar var-al veeṇṭ-um*
Kumar come-nom want-fu+3sn
'Kumar must come.'

According to our analysis of auxiliary compound verb constructions, see 3.8, auxiliary verbs take in underlying structure a sentential complement with the main verb as predicate. Thus verbal noun clauses with a verbal noun formed with *-al* occur in underlying structure as complements of the respective auxiliary verbs.

4.46

Verbal nouns with *-tal* (*-ttal*)

Verbal noun clauses with the verbal noun formed with the suffix *-tal* (*-ttal*) occur less frequently in Modern Tamil. Arden (1942:220) gives the following example of this type of verbal noun clause with subject function of a nominal predicate.

(682) *raajaa·v-ee [niiṅkaḷ it-ai·c cey-tal] tarmam*
Raja-emph you(pl) it-acc do-nom good conduct
'Oh King, your doing this is right conduct.'

4.47

Verbal nouns with *-kai* (*-kkai*)

Verbal noun clauses with a verbal noun formed with the suffix *-kai* (*-kkai*) take the locative case suffix *-il* in most cases of their occurrence. Hereby, they function as temporal adverbials expressing simultaneity 'while'. Example:

(683) *[kumaar tuuṅku-kai·y-il] oru tiruṭan̲ va-nt-aan̲*
Kumar sleep-nom-loc a thief come-pst-3sm
'While Kumar was sleeping, a thief came.'

Tensed verbal noun clauses

4.48

As mentioned before, tensed verbal noun clauses with a verbal noun form marked with the nominalizing suffix *-atu* occur most frequently of all verbal noun clauses. They occur in all NP positions with all respective functions and case markers.

4.49

Case marked verbal noun clauses

Verbal noun clauses in unmarked case form, that is nominative case, occur as subject and predicate NPs. Examples:

(684) *[kumaar iṅkee va-nt-atu] tappu*
Kumar here come-pst-nom mistake
'That Kumar came here was a mistake.'

(685) *kumaar-atu ilaṭciyam [tamiẓ paṭi-kkir̲-atu]*
Kumar-gen aim Tamil study-pres-nom
'Kumar's aim is to study Tamil.'

Verbal noun clauses marked for accusative case occur as direct object. Utterance, cognitive, and perceptual verbs take verbal noun clauses as object arguments. See the following examples:

(686) a. [*kumaar maturai-kku·p poo-n̲-at-ai*] *raajaa*
Kumar Madurai-dat go-pst-nom-acc Raja
con̲-n̲-aan̲
say-pst-3sm
'Raja told (the fact) that Kumar went to Madurai.'

b. *kumaar* [*tan̲ naṇpan̲ iṅkee va-nt-at-ai*]
Kumar he(obl) friend here come-pst-nom-acc
mar̲a-ntu-viṭ·ṭ-aan̲
forget-vbp-leave-pst-3sm
'Kumar forgot that his friend had come here.'

c. [*oru vipattu naṭa-nt-at-ai·k*] *kumaar*
a accident happen-pst-nom-acc Kumar
uṇar-nt-aan̲
realize-pst-3sm
'Kumar realized that an accident had occurred.'

d. *kumaar* [*oru tiruṭan̲ va-nt-at-ai·p*] *paar-tt-aan̲*
Kumar a thief come-pst-nom-acc see-pst-3sm
'Kumar saw that a thief had come.'

Annamalai (1969) notes that nominalized clauses occurring as object arguments to the above mentioned type of verbs are always interpreted as factive complements, that is as true propositions. The following example shows that a false or untrue proposition cannot be embedded as nominalized clause:

(687) * [*kumaar maturai-kku·p poo-n̲-at-ai*] *raajaa*
Kumar Madurai-dat go-pst-nom-acc Raja
con̲-n̲-aan̲. aan̲aal kumaar poo·k-a·v-ill-ai
say-pst-3sm but Kumar go-inf-be not-3pln
* 'Raja told the fact that Kumar went to Madurai. However, Kumar didn't go.'

As a result, a number of factive verbs, such as *mar̲a* 'forget', require a nominalized clause as object complement. On the other hand, a number of non-factive verbs, such as *karuttu* 'imagine' or *poy collu* 'lie', cannot occur with a nominalized clause as object complement.

Verbal noun clauses which are marked for the accusative case are, however, not restricted to occur as object arguments only. They can occur also as verb complements to other types of verbs. In such cases they are inflected for the future tense and express an unrealized event.

Thus negative achievement verbs, for instance, *tavir* 'avoid', take a verbal noun clause complement:

(688) *kumaar* [*veelai-kku·p poo-v-at-ai·t*] *tavir-tt-aan̲*
Kumar work-dat go-fu-nom-acc avoid-pst-3sm
'Kumar avoided going to work.'

Verbal noun clauses marked for instrumental case occur as causal adverbials. Example:

(689) [*kumaar caavi·y-ai·t tolai-tt-at-aal*] *katav-ai·t*
Kumar key-acc loose-pst-nom-inst door-acc
tir̲a·kk-a muṭi·y-a·v-ill-ai
open-inf can-inf-be not-3pln
'Because Kumar lost the key, he could not open the door.'

Verbal noun clauses with present or future tense and marked for dati, case function as purposive adverbials, being semantically equivalent to purposive infinitive clauses. Example:

(690) *kumaar* [*uṅkaḷ-ai·p paar-kkir̲-atu-kku*] *va-nt-aan̲*
Kumar you(pl)-acc see-pres-nom-dat come-pst-3sm
'Kumar came to see you.'

Verbal noun clauses marked for sociative case function as additive adverbials. Example:

(691) [*cin̲imaa·v-il naṭi-kkir̲-at-ooṭu*] *kumaar katai*
cinema-loc act-pres-nom-soc Kumar story
vacan̲am-um ez̤utu-kir̲-aan̲
dialog-incl write-pres-3sm
'Besides acting in movies, Kumar writes also film dialogs.'

Inflected for locative case, verbal noun clauses function as adverbials of means/circumstance, that is, they describe the means by which an action is performed or the circumstances under which a state of affair comes into existence. Example:

(692) [*katai ez̤utu-kir̲-at-il*] *kumaar maaca maacam*
story write-pres-nom-loc Kumar month month
ainuur̲u ruupaay campati-kkir̲-aan̲
five hundred rupee earn-pres-3sm
'In/by writing short stories, Kumar earns monthly five hundred rupees.'

Verbal noun clauses marked for ablative case occur as temporal adverbials, expressing the starting point of a duration of time. Example:

(693) [*naan̲ iṅkee va-nt-at-il-iruntu*] *in̲rum kumaar·ai·p*
I here come-pst-nom-loc-abl still Kumar-acc
paar·kk-a·v-ill-ai
see-inf-be not-3pln
'Since I came here, I still haven't seen Kumar.'

When verbal noun clauses inflected for ablative case have a different subject NP from the one of the main clause, a temporal and a causal interpretation is possible, e.g.

(694) [*naan̲ anta hoṭal-il caappiṭ·ṭ-at-il-iruntu*] *en̲a-kku*
I that hotel-loc eat-pst-nom-loc-abl I-dat
vayir̲·r̲u vali
stomach pain
'Since/because I ate in that hotel, I have stomach pain.'

4.50
Verbal noun + *-um*
When the clitic *-um* is added to the past verbal noun form, the verbal noun clause functions as temporal adverbial, expressing immediacy 'as soon as'. Whereas the verbal noun is always inflected for past tense, the finite verb in the main clause can occur with any tense and the time reference of the past tense verbal noun form is determined by the tense of the finite verb. Examples:

(695) [*kumaar iṅkee va-nt-at-um*] *naaṅkaḷ kiḷampu-v-oom*
Kumar here come-pst-nom-imm we start-fu-1pl
'As soon as Kumar comes, we will start.'

(696) [*kumaar tuuṅk-i·y-at-um*] *kuẓantai aẓ-a aarampi-tt-atu*
Kumar sleep-pst-nom-imm child cry-inf start-pst-3sn
'As soon as Kumar slept, the child started crying.'

4.51
Co-ordinaton of verbal noun clauses + *-aaka*
When two verbal noun clauses with a present tense verbal noun form are conjoined with the co-ordinating clitic *-um* and this co-ordinated structure is followed by the so-called adverbializing suffix *-aaka*, the

resulting construction functions as adverbial of manner and means. Example:

(697) *kumaar* [*cin̲imaa·v-ukku·p poo-kir̲-at-um ciiṭṭu*
Kumar cinema-dat go-pres-nom-co cards
aaṭu-kir̲-at-um-aaka·p] *poẓutu pookku-kir̲-aan̲*
play-pres-nom-co-adv time spend-pres-3sm
'Kumar spends his time by going to movies and playing cards.'

The auxiliary verb *iru* takes an *-um* co-ordination of two clauses with a predicate consisting of a main verb + the auxiliary form *koṇ-ṭu*, as shown by (454). Alternatively, the auxiliary verb *iru* takes an *-um* co-ordination of two verbal noun clauses plus the suffix *-aaka*. See the following example:

(698) *avan̲ peecu-kir̲-at-um ciri-kkir̲-at-um-aaka iru-kkir̲-aan̲*
he talk-pres-nom-co laugh-pres-nom-co-adv be-pres-3sm
'He is talking and laughing.'

Finally note the following construction, in which a positive and negative verbal noun clause with an identical verb are co-ordinated with *-um* and followed by *-aaka*. This construction expresses the concept that the action or event is on-going and not completed. Example:

(699) [*kumaar viiṭ·ṭu-kk-uḷḷee va-nt-at-um*
Kumar house-dat-inside come-pst-nom-co
var-aat-at-um-aaka] *vaẓukk-i viẓu-nt-aan̲*
come-neg-nom-co-adv slip-vbp fall-pst-3sm
'When Kumar came in half way, he slipped and fell.'

Verbal noun clauses + postpostions
4.52
The noun phrase argument of a postposition in a postpositional phrase $[_{PP}$ NP P] can also be occupied by a tensed verbal noun clause. However, a verbal noun clause cannot occur as NP argument of all postpositions. Only a restricted number of postpositions take a nominalized clause as NP argument:

mun̲n̲aal, munti	'before'
uḷḷee	'within'
pin̲n̲aal, pinti,	'after'

aapur̲am, pir̲aku 'after'
maatiri, poola 'like'
tavira 'except'
patilaaka 'instead of'
par̲r̲i 'about'

4.53
Verbal noun clauses + *mun̲n̲aal, munti, uḷḷee*

The three postpositions *mun̲n̲aal*, *munti* 'before', and *uḷḷee* 'inside, within' take a verbal noun clause inflected for present tense and dative case as argument to form a postpositional phrase, which functions as 'before' adverbial. The time reference of the verb in the main clause determines the time reference of the present tense verbal noun form. See the following examples with *mun̲n̲aal*:

(700) [[*kumaar kaṭai-kku·p poo-kir̲-atu-kku*] *mun̲n̲aal*]
Kumar shop-dat go-pres-nom-dat before
tan̲ naṇpan̲-ai·p paar-tt-aan̲/ paar-pp-aan̲
he(obl) friend-acc see-pst-3sm see-fu-3sm
'Before Kumar went/goes to the shop, he saw/will see his friend.'

The postposition *uḷḷee* is used when there is a minimal temporal difference between the two events and they are almost co-occurring. See the following example:

(701) [*kumaar uṭkaar-kir̲-atu-kk-uḷḷee*] *avarkaḷ tan̲*
Kumar sit-pres-nom-dat-within they he(obl)
naar̲kaali·y-ai eṭu-tt-aarkal
chair-acc take-pst-3pl
'Just before he was about to sit down, they took away his chair.'

4.54
Verbal noun clauses + *appur̲am, pir̲aku, pin̲n̲aal, pinti*

The postpositions *appur̲am*, *pir̲aku*, *pin̲n̲aal*, and *pinti*, meaning 'after', take a verbal noun clause inflected for past tense and dative case as argument to form a postpostional phrase, which functions as 'after' time adverbial. The time reference of the verb in the main clause, which can occur in all the three tenses, determines the time reference of the past verbal noun form. See the following example with the postposition *appur̲am*:

(702) [[*maẓai pey-t-atu-kku*] *appur̲am*] *payir nan̲r̲-aaka*
rain fall-pst-nom-dat after crops goodness-adv
vaḷar-nt-atu/ vaḷar-kir̲-atu/ vaḷar-um
grow-pst-3sn grow-pres-3sn grow-fu+3sn
'After it rained/rains, the crops grew/grow/will grow well.'

4.55
Verbal noun clauses + *maatiri, poola*

The postpositions *maatiri*, *poola* 'like' take a verbal noun clause, optionally inflected for accusative case, as argument NP. The tense of the verbal noun clause may be past or present and has undetermined time reference. See the following examples:

(703) a. [[*kumaar en̲n̲-iṭam peec-i·y-atu*] *maatiri/ poola*]
Kumar I-loc talk-pst-nom like like
naan̲ avan̲-iṭam peecu-v-een̲
I he-loc talk-fu-1s
'As Kumar talked to me, I will talk to him.'

b. [[*kumaar en̲n̲-iṭam peecu-kir̲-atu*] *maatiri/ poola*]
Kumar I-loc talk-pres-nom like like
naan̲ avan̲-iṭam peecu-v-een̲
I he-loc talk-fu-1s
'As Kumar talks to me, I will talk to him.'

4.56
Verbal noun clauses + *tavira*

The postposition *tavira* 'except' takes a verbal noun clause inflected for accusative case as argument. All three tenses can occur in the verbal noun clause, depending on the time reference of the verb in the main clause. See the following two examples involving the past and future tense:

(704) a. *kumaar* [[*pakal-il muẓuvatum tuuṅk-i·y-at-ai·t*] *tavira*]
Kumar day-loc whole sleep-pst-nom-acc except
neer̲r̲u veer̲u on̲r̲-um cey·y-a·v-ill-ai
yesterday else one-incl do-inf-be not-3pln
'Except that he slept the whole day, Kumar didn't do anything else yesterday.'

b. *kumaar* [[*pakal-il muẓuvatum tuuṅku-v-at-ai·t*] *tavira*]
Kumar day-loc whole sleep-fu-nom-acc except
veeṟu oṉṟ-um cey·y-a·v-ill-ai
else one-incl do-inf-be not-3pln
'Except that he sleeps the whole day, Kumar won't do anything else.'

4.57
Verbal noun clauses + *patilaaka*
The postposition *patilaaka* 'instead of' takes a verbal noun clause inflected for present tense and dative case to form a postpositional phrase expressing the concept of substitution: the replacing of an expected event by an unexpected event. Example:

(705) [[*koñcam paṇam ceer-ttu vai-kkiṟ-atu-kku·p*]
little money collect-vbp put-pres-nom-dat
patilaaka·k] *kumaar ellaa·v-aṟṟ-ai·y-um celavu*
instead of Kumar everything-obl-acc-incl expenditure
cey-t-aaṉ
do-pst-3sm
'Instead of saving a little bit money, Kumar spent everything.'

4.58
Verbal noun clauses + *paṟṟi*
The postposition *paṟṟi* 'about' takes a verbal noun clause inflected for accusative case as argument. The verbal predicate of the verbal noun clause may be inflected for all the three tenses and its time reference is undetermined. See the following example with the past tense:

(706) *kumaar* [[*amerikkaa·v-ukku·p poo-ṉ-at-ai·p*] *paṟṟi·p*]
Kumar America-dat go-pst-nom-acc about
peec-iṉ-aaṉ
talk-pst-3sm
'Kumar talked about his going to America (in the past).'

4.59
Restrictions of non-finite and nominalized clauses
The strategy to use non-finite and nominalized clauses in complex sentence formation is subject to a considerable amount of restrictions on

embedding or adjoining of clauses. For this reason, Tamil uses three more strategies to form complex sentences. Before we turn to these, we will first show the various restrictions of the non-finite and nominalized clause strategy.

First, the occurrence of the non-finite and nominalized verb forms involves always a verbal predicate. As a consequence, clauses with a nominal predicate, that is clauses with the structure [$_s$ NP NP], cannot be embedded with this strategy.

Second, a number of verbs have defective morphology—see 1.56 to 1.62. Thus, some verbs cannot be inflected for all or some non-finite and nominalized verb forms. Consequently, clauses which have a defective verb as predicate cannot be embedded by this strategy.

Third, when occurring as head of a complement, some cognitive verbs and abstract nouns require interrogative complements, that is clauses containing interrogative pro-forms, e.g., *eppootu* 'when', or the sentence final interrogative clitic *-aa*. Cognitive verbs which require such interrogative complements are *keeḷ* 'ask' and *vicaari* 'enquire'. Abstract nouns which require interrogative complements are *keeḷvi* 'question' and *canteekam* 'doubt'. In addition to these verbs and nouns, there are other cognitive verbs and abstract nouns which optionally take interrogative complements. We saw that when a clause is embedded as complement to cognitive verbs, it appears in nominalized form and when embedded as complement to abstract nouns, it appears as adjectival clause. There is now the constraint that an interrogative marker—be it an interrogative pro-form or the interrogative clitic—cannot occur in a nominalized or adjectival clause. This is illustrated by the following examples involving interrogative pro-forms:

(707) * *kumaar eppootu varu-v-at-ai·k keeṭ-ṭ-aarkaḷ*
Kumar when come-fu-nom-acc ask-pst-3pl
'They asked when Kumar would come.'

(708) * *kumaar eppootu varu-kiṟ-a keeḷvi-kku naaṉ patil*
Kumar when come-pres-adj question-dat I answer
coll-a·v-ill-ai
say-inf-be not-3pln
'I didn't give an answer to the question when Kumar would come.'

Thus, the strategy to use non-finite and nominalized verb forms does not provide a possibility to embed a clause before cognitive verbs like *keeḷ* 'ask', or abstract nouns like *keeḷvi* 'question', both of which take

only interrogative complements. In general, the strategy does not allow the embedding of interrogative clauses.

Fourth, the non-finite and nominalized verb form strategy cannot embed clauses containing sentence final clitics, such as the supposition marker *-aam*, meaning 'it seems, it is said'. Sentence final clitics are suffixed to the clause final verb constituent. There is, however, the constraint that such clause final clitics can only be suffixed to finite verbs, as in (709), but not to non-finite or nominalized verb forms. Example:

(709) *kumaar va-nt-aan̲-aam*
Kumar come-pst-3sm-supp
'Kumar is said to have come.'

Fifth, we mentioned above that cognitive verbs take nominalized clauses as object complements. In this case, the nominalized clauses are interpreted as factive complements. There are now a number of cognitive verbs, which due to their semantics cannot cooccur with factive complements. Verbs of this type are, for example, *teri* 'appear', *toon̲r̲u* 'seem', *poy collu* 'lie', *vaittukkoḷ* 'suppose', etc. Since nominalized clauses occurring as complements of cognitive verbs are always interpreted as factive complements, they cannot cooccur with the above type of verbs. Thus the non-finite and nominalized verb form strategy does not provide a possibility to embed clauses as complements to the above given non-factive verbs.

Sixth, when clauses are embedded as relative or appositive clauses to nouns or noun phrases on the non-finite verb form strategy, they occur as adjectival clauses. There is the interesting constraint that adjectival clauses with the four defective verbs *uḷ* 'exist', *il* 'be not', *kiṭai* 'be not', and *uṭai* 'possess' as predicate are only interpreted as well formed when they have the function of a relative clause, but not when they have the function of an appositive clause. This is illustrated in the case of the verb *uḷ* 'exist'.

(710) a. *inta·k kiraama-tt-il iraṇṭu koovil uṇ-ṭu*
this village-obl-loc two temple exist-3sn
'There are two temples in the village.'

b. *inta·k kiraama-tt-il uḷḷ-a iraṇṭu koovil*
this temple-obl-loc exist-adj two temple
'the two temples which are in this village'

(711) a. *kaṭavuḷ uṇ-ṭu*
god exist-3sn
'God exists.'

b. * *kaṭavuḷ uḷḷ-a nampikkai*
god exist-adj belief
'the belief that God exists'

Thus, the non-finite verb form strategy does not allow the embedding of a clause with the above four verbs as complement with appositive clause function to a noun or noun phrase.

Seventh, as shown above, manipulative verbs take infinitive clauses as complements. Since the negative operator in Tamil is always realized in the verb constituent and there is no negative infinitive form, a negative clause cannot be embedded before a manipulative verb on the non-finite verb form strategy. Thus a sentence like 'I told him not to go there' cannot be realized with this strategy.

Eigth, on the non-finite and nominalized verb form strategy a clause cannot be embedded with a finite verb. Thus, direct discourse cannot be expressed with this strategy.

We will see in the following sections that these restrictions on the embedding of clauses, to which the non-finite and nominalized verb form strategy is subject, to can be overcome by the three other strategies Tamil uses to embed clauses—in particular by the strategy to use complementizing verb forms, which we will discuss next.

Complementizing verbs
4.60
We mentioned before that Tamil has two lexical verbs *en̲* 'say, think' and *pool* 'seem', which have the special property that they take a clause with a finite verb as complement. All other verbs in Tamil require that a clause embedded as complement must be non-finite or nominalized—as illustrated in the previous sections. Notice now that the two verbs *en̲* and *pool* occur also in a non-lexical usage with this special property. In this case the two verbs are lexically empty and occur in non-finite and nominalized forms with the grammatical function of embedding a clause as complement to a head. That is these verb forms occur with embedding or complementizing function. As such, they correspond to—though they are not equivalent to—lexical complementizers, like 'that, if' in English. Moreover, the verb *aaku* 'become' occurs also with its

non-finite and nominalized forms with the same function. We will now illustrate the occurrences of the verbs *en̲*, *pool*, and *aaku* with the non-lexical but grammatical function of embedding or complementizing forms.
The following examples have been specifically constructed to show that the strategy to use complementizing verbs is able to embed those clause types which cannot be embedded by the strategy which uses the non-finite and nominalized verb forms. For example in (712) a clause with a nominal predicate is embedded. Note that in (712b) a verbless clause is embedded as a relative clause and only its predicate noun phrase is overtly expressed.

(712) a. *ravi vakkiil en̲-r̲·aal avar-ai·k kuuppiṭ-al-aam*
Ravi lawyer say-cond he-acc call-nom-become+fu+3sn
'If Ravi is a lawyer, one may call him.'

b. *vakkiil aak-i·y-a/ aa-n̲-a kumaar neer̲r̲u*
lawyer become-pst-adj become-pst-adj Kumar yesterday
va-nt-aar
come-pst-3sh
'Kumar, who is a lawyer, came yesterday.'

The following shows the embedding of a clause with the defective verbs *maaṭṭu* 'will' and *veeṇṭu* 'want', which cannot occur in verbal noun and conditional form, respectively.

(713) a. *kumaar naaḷai var-a maaṭṭ-aan̲ en̲-p-atu periya*
Kumar tomorrow come-inf will-3sm say-fu-nom big
piraccan̲ai
problem
'That Kumar won't come tomorrow is a big problem.'

b. *kumaar var-a veeṇṭ-um aa-n̲·aal/ en̲-r̲·aal*
Kumar come-inf want-fu+3sn become-cond say-cond
naaḷai var-al-aam
tomorow come-nom-become+fu+3sn
'If Kumar wants to come, he may come tomorrow.'

The embedding of interrogative complements is shown next:

(714) a. *kumaar eppootu varu-v-aan̲ en̲-r̲u keeṭ-ṭ-aarkaḷ*
Kumar when come-fu-3sm say-vbp ask-pst-3pl
'They asked when Kumar would come.'

b. *kumaar kaṭai-kku·p poo-n̲-aan̲-aa en̲-r̲u keeṭ-ṭ-aarkaḷ*
Kumar shop-dat go-pst-3sm-Q say-vbp ask-pst-3pl
'They asked whether Kumar had gone to the shop.'

A clause with a sentence final clitic is embedded in the following.

(715) *kumaar va-nt-aan̲-aam en̲-r̲u avarkaḷ con̲-n̲-aarkaḷ*
Kumar come-pst-3sm-supp say-vbp they say-pst-3pl
'They said that it seemed that Kumar had come.'

The following three examples show the embedding of clauses as complements to non-factive cognitive verbs.

(716) a. *in̲r̲u maẓai pey·y-um pool-a·t teri-kir̲-atu*
today rain fall-fu+3sn seem-inf appear-pres-3sn
'It appears as if it rains today.'

b. *kumaar naaḷai varu-v-at-aaka nin̲ai-kkir̲-een̲*
Kumar tomorrow come-fu-nom-become-inf think-pres-1s
'I think that Kumar will come tomorrow.'

c. *kumaar yaar-um var-a·v-ill-ai en̲-r̲u poy*
Kumar who-incl come-inf-be not-3pln say-vbp lie
con̲-n̲-aan̲
say-pst-3sm
'Kumar told the lie that nobody came.'

A clause with the defective verb *uḷ* 'exist' is embedded as complement with appositive clause function before a NP in the following example:

(717) *kaṭavuḷ uṇ-ṭu en̲-r̲-a nampikkai en̲a-kku*
god exist-3sn say-pst-adj belief I-dat
iru-kkir̲-atu
be-pres-3sn
'I have the belief that God exists.'

The final example shows that by embedding a finite clause direct discourse can be expressed.

(718) a. *kumaar in̲r̲u appaa varu-kir̲-aar en̲-r̲u con̲-n̲-aan̲*
Kumar today father come-pres-3sh say-vbp say-pst-3sm
'Kumar said that father would come today./
Kumar said "Father is coming today".'

b. *naan kumaar-iṭam un veelai·y-ai·p paar en-ru*
I Kumar-loc you(obl) work-acc see say-vbp
con-n-een
say-pst-1s
'I said to Kumar "Mind your business".'

In the above examples, the various non-finite and nominalized verb forms of the verbs *en*, *pool*, and *aaku* are not instances of the respective verbs with their lexical function. Thus the forms of the verb *en* do not have the lexical meaning 'say', the forms of the verb *pool* do not have the lexical meaning 'seem', and the forms of the verb *aaku* do not have the lexical meaning 'become'. In all these cases the respective verbs are lexically empty, that is, they do not have a denotational function. As mentioned before, they have instead a grammatical function: they embed a clause with a finite verb or a nominal as predicate into the structure of a sentence by marking the final boundary of the complement and linking it to a head. Thus they have a function similar to the one of complementizers or subordination conjunctions in other languages. We, therefore, refer to these verbs as embedding or complementizing verbs. Notice that these complementizing verbs occur always in non-finite or nominalized verb forms and this according to context. Thus, for exmple, the verb *en* appears in adjectival participle form when it embeds a clause as complement to a noun phrase, as in (717), it appears in verbal noun form when it embeds a clause as nominal, as in (713), and it appears in conditional form when it embeds a clause as conditional complement to a matrix clause, as in (712a) and (713b). However, note that not every verb occurs in all non-finite and nominalized verb forms. The verb *en* occurs in all (positive) non-finite and nominalized verb forms: conditional in (712a) and (713b), past adjectival participle in (718), future adjectival form (not illustrated), future verbal noun in (714), verbal participle in (714), (715), (716c), and (718), and infinitive (not illustrated). Similarly, the verb *aaku* occurs in the conditional form (713b), the past adjectival participle form (712b), the tenseless verbal noun form (not illustrated), the infinitive form (716b), and the verbal participle form (not illustrated). The verb *pool* occurs only in the infinitive form (716a) and the past adjectival participle form (not illustrated). See the following list of non-finite and nominalized verb forms with which the complementizing verbs occur:

en 'say'
en-a infinitive
en-ru verbal participle

en-r·aal conditional
en-r-a past adjectival participle
enn-um future adjectival participle
en-p-atu future verbal noun

aaku 'become'
aak-a infinitive
aay verbal participle
aa-n·aal conditional
aak-i·y-a/aa-n-a past adjectival participle
aa-kai·y-aal/aa-tal-aal tenseless verbal noun inflected for instrumental case

pool 'seem'
pool-a infinitive
poon-r-a past adjectival participle

In the following we will discuss the categorical status of these complementizing verb forms and the syntactic structure in which they occur. We will begin with the latter. We will take sentence (718a), repeated here as (719), as representative example for the construction in which a clause is embedded with a complementizing verb form.

(719) *kumaar inru appaa varu-kir-aar en-ru con-n-aan*
Kumar today father come-pres-3sh say-vbp say-pst-3sm
'Kumar said father would come today.'

First notice that the complementizing verb form *en-ru* occurs peripheral to (outside) the embedded finite clause *inru appaa varu-kir-aar*. This is evidenced by the fact that the form *en-ru* can also embed a co-ordinated structure, that is two co-ordinated finite clauses, in which case it has to occur outside S.

(720) *kumaar* [$_S$ [$_S$ *inru appaa varu-kir-aar*] *aanaal*
Kumar today father come-pres-3sh but
[$_S$ *ammaa var-a maaṭṭ-aarkaḷ*]] *en-ru con-n-aan*
mother come-inf will-3pl say-vbp say-pst-3sm
'Kumar said that father would come today but mother would not come.'

Second, both the embedded S and the form *en-ru* occur as one constituent. This can be shown by movement operations. For example, in the case of cleft sentence formation, the clefted constituent is transposed over the nominalized verbal predicate of the sentence. The following

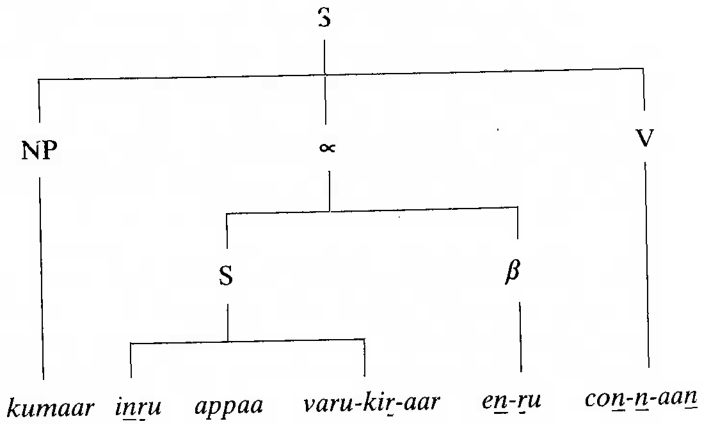
example shows that only the embedded S plus the form *en̲-r̲u* can be moved, but not the embedded S without *en̲-r̲u*.

(721) a. *kumaar con̲-n̲-atu in̲r̲u appaa varu-kir̲-aar en̲-r̲u*
Kumar say-pst-nom today father come-pres-3sh say-vbp
'What Kumar was saying was that father would come that day.'

b. * *kumaar en̲-r̲u con̲-n̲-atu in̲r̲u appaa*
Kumar say-vbp say-pst-nom today father
varu-kir̲-aar
come-pres-3sh

Accordingly, sentence (720) has the following structure, in which the complementizing form *en̲-r̲u* occurs outside or peripheral to the embedded S and both the embedded S and *en̲-r̲u* form one constituent:

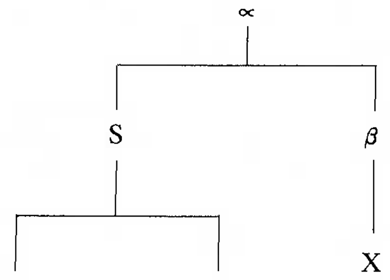
(722)



Assuming that the embedded clauses and complementizing verb forms of the other examples of (712) to (718) have as complements the same structure as the embedded clause and the complementizing verb form *en̲-r̲u* in (719), we can generally represent the structure of complements marked with the various non-finite verb forms as shown in the diagram (723), where X stands for the non-finite verb forms of the verbs *en̲*, *aaku*, and *pool*. The question is what is the categorical status of β, the complementizing verb form, and ∝, the constituent formed by the embedded S and the complementizing verb form.

Due to their complementizing function, the various verb forms have been referred to as complementizers in Tamil, e.g. Larkin (1972).

(723)



Assuming that these verb forms are grammaticalized and syntactically reanalyzed to elements with the categorical status of complementizers, one might postulate that these verb forms occur as elements of the lexical category of complementizers in the complementizer position COMP: S' → S COMP. Such a categorical reanalysis of verb forms to complementizers is not only easily accommodated in the system of Tamil grammar, in which syntactic reanalysis is available—see, for example, postpositions or conjunctions, described in chapter two, but has also wide cross-linguistic correspondences—see, for example, Lord (1976). However, the occurrence of the above verb forms in a non-lexical usage with a grammatical (complementizing) function does not imply a syntactic category change. Remember that auxiliary verbs in Tamil are lexical verbs which have been grammaticalized to express grammatical categories, like aspect, mood, etc. Nevertheless, they behave and function like verbs and have thus the categorical status of verbs (V) and not of a separate category (AUX). Thus, a grammatical reanalysis of the complementizing verb forms is only justified if these verbs behave syntactically different from other verbs and do not display the syntactic properties of verbs anymore, requiring thus a new category status, such as COMP. In the following, we will, therefore, examine the syntactic behavior of the complementizing verbs and the non-finite and nominalized verb forms with which they occur.

We will begin the discussion with an investigation of how the verbs *en̲*, *pool*, and *aaku* have acquired the complementizing function. We will do this by examining the properties of these verbs when they occur as lexical verbs.

First, the verbs *en̲* and *pool* are the only verbs which can take an unmarked complement, that is, they take a finite clause without a complementizing morpheme as complement. Examples have been given above under (572) and (573).

Second, the verbs *en̲* and *pool* cannot take a clause as complement which is marked with a complementizing morpheme. For example, *en̲*,

as cognitive verb, cannot take a nominalized clause as complement, as its synonym *collu* can do:

(724) * *kumaar [in̲r̲u oru mantiri varu-kir̲-at-ai]*
Kumar today a minister come-pres-nom-acc
en̲-r̲-aan̲
say-pst-3sm
'Kumar said that a minister came today.'

(725) *kumaar [in̲r̲u oru mantiri varu-kir̲-at-ai·c]*
Kumar today a minister come-pres-nom-acc
con̲-n̲-aan̲
say-pst-3sm
'Kumar said that a minister came today'.

Third, the verbs *en̲* and *pool* cannot take a simple NP as argument, but only a sentential complement. Compare *en̲* with its synonym *collu* 'say' in the following examples:

(726) * *kumaar oru aciṅkam-aan̲a vaarttai·y-ai en̲-r̲-aan̲*
Kumar a obscenity-adj word-acc say-pst-3sm
'Kumar said an obscene word.'

(727) *kumaar oru aciṅkam-aan̲a vaarttai·y-ai·c con̲-n̲-aan̲*
Kumar a obscenity-adj word-acc say-pst-3sm
'Kumar said an obscene word.'

Fourth, as observed by Kothandaraman (1984), the verb *en̲* requires to be immediately preceded by the embedded S. Thus (728) is grammatical, but not (729) where the subject NP occurs between the complement and the verb *en̲*.

(728) *kumaar [appaa neer̲r̲u va-nt-aar] en̲-r̲-aan̲*
Kumar father yesterday come-pst-3sh say-pst-3sm
'Kumar said that father came yesterday.'

(729) * *[appaa neer̲r̲u va-nt-aar] kumaar en̲-r̲-aan̲*
father yesterday come-pst-3sh Kumar say-pst-3sm

This proximity requirement can be extended to *pool*. Thus (730), where the embedded S immediately precedes the verb *pool*, is grammatical, but not (731), where a time adverbial occurs between complement and verb.

(730) *ippootu [kumaar in̲imeel iṅkee var-a maaṭṭ-aan̲]*
now Kumar hereafter here come-inf will-3sm
pool-um
seem-fu+3sn
'Now it seems that hereafter Kumar won't come here.'

(731) * *[kumaar in̲imeel iṅkee var-a maaṭṭ-aan̲] ippootu*
Kumar hereafter here come-inf will-3sm now
pool-um
seem-fu+3sn

We will now recapitulate the four properties of the lexical verbs *en̲* and *pool*: (i) they occur with unmarked complements, that is take finite clauses as complements, (ii) they cannot take complements marked with a complementizing morpheme, (iii) they cannot occur with non-sentential omplements, e.g. simple NPs, and (iv) they require to be immediately preceded by an embedded S in finite form. From these properties we conclude that the lexical verbs *en̲* and *pool* have—as already argued for by Larkin (1972) in the case of *en̲*—the complementizing function as inherent property. For this reason, these verbs (i) take a finite clause as complement, (ii) cannot occur with an embedded clause marked already by a complementizing morpheme, (iii) cannot occur with simple NPs as arguments since these do not require the complementizing function inherent in the verbs, and (iv) require that they be immediately preceded by the embedded S since in Tamil a complementizing morpheme has to follow the embedded S or occurs at its end. Thus, the verbs *en̲* and *pool* have a double function: a lexical function to denote 'say' and 'seem' and a grammatical function to complementize. In the sentences (712) to (718) the verbs *en̲* and *pool* occur, however, only with the complementizing function. Since this is an inherent property of these verbs, there is no need to stipulate a process of grammaticalization in the sense of assuming a grammatical function and dropping simultaneously the lexical function, as in the case of the Tamil auxiliary verbs. Instead, we will say that the verbs *en̲* and *pool* can occur either as lexical and grammatical verbs, or only as grammatical verbs. Note that even when *en̲* and *pool* occur only with their grammatical, that is complementizing function, they have a semantic function as, for example, expressed by 'that' vs. 'as if' in English. This is illustrated by the following example:

(732) *in̲r̲u mazai pey·y-um en̲-r̲u/ pool-a·t toon̲r̲u-kir̲-atu*
today rain fall-fu+3sn say-vbp seem-inf seem-pres-3sn
'It seems that/as if it is raining today.'

The lexical verb *aaku* 'become', on the other hand, does not have the special properties the verbs *en* and *pool* have. This verb cannot take a finite clause as complement and does not have a grammatical function as inherent property. With this verb the process of grammaticalization takes place. The reason why Tamil uses this verb for grammaticalization to a verb with complementizing function may be the fact that *aaku*, which takes only case unmarked NPs as arguments, has a unique property among Tamil verbs, as pointed out to me by Sanford Steever (p.c): it does never impose a morphological change on its complements. This is a property it shares with the verbs *en* and *pool*.

When we examine the individual verb forms of the complementizing verbs, then we see that they display the syntactic properties of verbs. We will illustrate this with the four verb forms with which the complementizing verb *en* occurs most frequently: the verbal noun inflected for future tense *en-p-atu*, the conditional form *en-r·aal*, the verbal participle form *en-ru*, and the adjectival participle form inflected for past tense *en-r-a*. The form *en-p-atu*, formally a verbal noun, functions also syntactically as verbal noun. Like any other lexical verbal noun, it takes case suffixes and functions together with the embedded S as noun phrase with any function, e.g. object function (733a), or adverbial of cause function (733b):

(733) a. *kumaar enn-ai·k kuuppiṭ·ṭ-aan en-p-at-ai naan*
Kumar I-acc call-pst-3sm say-fu-nom-acc I
mara-ntu viṭ·ṭ-een
forget-vbp leave-pst-1s
'I forgot that Kumar had invited me.'

b. *mantiri peecu-v-aar en-p-at-aal kuuṭṭam*
minister talk-fu-3sh say-fu-nom-inst crowd
ceer-nt-atu
gather-pst-3sn
'Because the minister will speak, a crowd gathered.'

The form *en-r·aal*, formally a conditional form, functions also syntactically as a conditional form. Like any other conditional form, it takes, for example, the clitic *-um* to form a concessive form, expressing 'even if, even though'. Example:

(734) *kumaar var-a maaṭṭ-aan en-r·aal-um naaṅkaḷ avan-ai·k*
Kumar come-inf will-3sm say-cond-conc we he-acc
kuuppiṭ-a veeeṇṭ-um
call-inf want-fu+3sn
'Even if Kumar won't come, we have to invite him.'

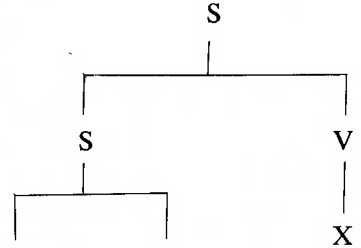
The form *en-ru*, formally a verbal participle, and the form *en-r-a*, formally an adjectival participle, behave also syntactically like a verbal participle and an adjectival participle. For example, *en-ru*, like all lexical verbal participles, takes the co-ordinating clitic *-um*, but the form *en-r-a*, like all lexical adjectival participles, does not. This is an instance of the general case that verbal participles cooccur with clitics, but adjectival participles do not. The following two examples will illustrate this.

(735) *aracaṅkam [arici vilai kuṟai·y-um en-r-um*
government rice price get reduced-fu+3sn say-vbp-co
taṇṇiir vacati kiṭai·kk-um en-r-um] arivi-tt-atu
water facility get-fu+3sn say-vbp-co announce-pst-3sn
'The government announced that the price of rice would get reduced and that water facilities would become available.'

(736) * *aracaṅkam [arici vilai kuṟai·y-um*
government rice price get reduced-fu+3sn
en-r-a·v-um taṇṇiir vacati kiṭai·kk-um
say-pst-adj-co water facility get-fu+3sn
en-r-a·v-um] arivipp-ai veḷiyiṭ·ṭ-atu
say-pst-adj-co announcement-acc issue-pst-3sn
'The government made the announcement that the price of rice would get reduced and that water facilities would become available.'

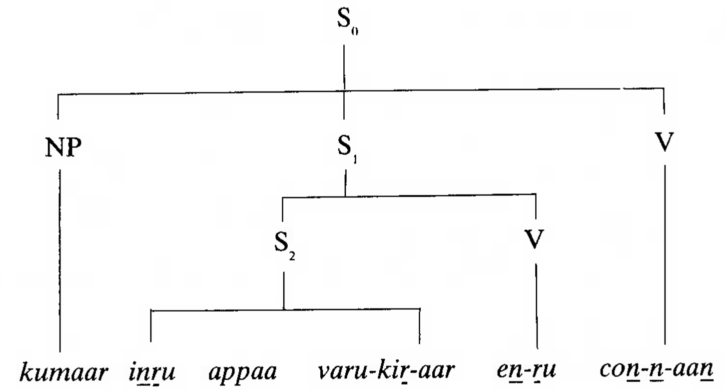
The discussion sofar has shown that the above complementizing verb forms behave syntactically like inflected verb forms, in the same way as inflected verb forms with a lexical function do. This allows us to analyze the various complementizing verb forms syntactically as inflected verb forms. In the structural representation of complements consisting of an embedded S and a non-finite complementizing verb form—given under (723) above—we can now assign the following category labels:

(737)



A non-finite verb form X of the verbs *eṉ*, *pool*, and *aaku* occurs as grammatical verb (V), taking only a sentential complement (S), but no subject NP. Both the embedded S and the complementizing verb X form one constituent S. We will illustrate this with a tree diagram of sentence (719)—the example sentence for this discussion:

(738)



The matrix sentence S_0 consists of the verbal predicate *coṉ-ṉ-aaṉ*, which takes apart from the subject NP *kumaar* a sentential complement S_1 as argument. This sentential complement S_1 has the complementizing verb *eṉ*, inflected for verbal participle form, as predicate, that is, the matrix verb *coṉ-ṉ-aaṉ* takes a verbal participle clause, the *eṉ-ṟu* clause S_1, as complement. The verbal predicate of S_1, that is *eṉ-ṟu*, takes only a sentential complement S_2, but no subject NP, as argument. In the same fashion, the other complementizing verbs *pool* and *aaku* occurring as non-finite verbs do not take a subject NP, but only a sentential complement as argument. Whereas *eṉ* and *pool* take only a finite clause as complement, *aaku* can also take a nominalized clause as complement.

In the following sections we will illustrate the various forms of the three complementizing verbs and the context in which they occur.

The verb *eṉ*

4.61

The verb *eṉ* 'say, think' occurs most frequently of the three complementizing verbs. It is syntactically required to embed a verbless clause or a finite verbal clause with a defective verb as predicate. Semantically, it is required when the embedded clause has to be a finite one, as in the case of direct discourse. As mentioned before, the complementizing verb *eṉ* occurs with the following forms: verbal participle *eṉ-ṟu*, infinitive *eṉ-a*, conditional *eṉ-ṟ·aal*, past and future adjectival participle *eṉ-ṟ-a*

and *eṉṉ-um*, and the future verbal noun *eṉ-p-atu*. Hereby, the infinitive *eṉ-a* occurs as a more literary alternative form for *eṉ-ṟu* in most contexts in which *eṉ-ṟu* occurs, and, likewise, the future adjectival form *eṉṉ-um* is a more literary alternative form for the past adjectival form *eṉ-ṟ-a*. In the following, the two forms *eṉ-a* and *eṉṉ-um* will be ignored. We will refer to the construction embedded clause + complementizing verb form as complement and discuss now the following four types of *eṉ* complements:

- *eṉ-ṟu* complements
- *eṉ-p-atu* complements
- *eṉ-ṟ-a* complements
- *eṉ-ṟ·aal* complements

4.62

_eṉ-ṟu_ complements

When the verbal participle form *eṉ-ṟu* embeds a clause into a sentence, the complement consisting of the embedded clause (S) and the form *eṉ-ṟu* (V) has the categorical status of a verbal participle complement. *eṉ-ṟu* clauses occur as complements to the following types of verbal predicates: (i) utterance verbs, e.g. *collu* 'say' (739), *keeḷ* 'ask', *tiṭṭu* 'scold', (ii) cognitive verbs, e.g. *niṉai* 'think' (740), *teri* 'know, *maṟa* 'forget', (iii) desiderative verbs, e.g. *aacaippaṭu* 'desire' (741), and (iv) emotive verbs, e.g. *payappaṭu* 'be afraid of' (742). Hereby the *eṉ-ṟu* complements express the contents of a verbal utterance, a cognitive process, a desire, or an emotion. See the following examples:

(739) *kumaar [[tapaal va-nt-atu] eṉ-ṟu] coṉ-ṉ-aaṉ*
Kumar mail come-pst-3sn say-vbp say-pst-3sm
'Kumar said that the mail had come.'

(740) *[[kumaar maturai-kku·p pooy iru-kkiṟ-aaṉ] eṉ-ṟu]*
Kumar Madurai-dat go+vbp be-pres-3sm say-vbp
niṉai-tt-eeṉ
think-pst-1s
'I thought that Kumar had gone to Madurai.'

(741) *kumaar [[ṭilli-kku·p poo·k-al-aam] eṉ-ṟu]*
Kumar Delhi-dat go-nom-become+fu+3sn say-vbp
aacaippaṭu-kiṟ-aaṉ
desire-pres-3sm
'Kumar would like to go to Delhi.'

(742) *kumaar* [[*oru tirutan varu-v-aan*] *en-ru*]
Kumar a thief come-fu-3sm say-vbp
payappatu-kir-aan
be afraid-pres-3sm
'Kumar is afraid that a thief would come.'

en-ru complements of utterance verbs, as in (739), express speech report. How the difference between direct and indirect speech is realized in Tamil will be discussed under 5.6. Whereas utterance, cognitive, and emotive verbs take a *en-ru* complement whose embedded clause has a finite verbal or nominal predicate, desiderative verbs require the modal verb *-aam* or *veentu* in the embedded S—see (742).

After the illustration of *en-ru* complements and the types of head which take these complements, we will describe some interesting syntactic properties of this type of complement. First notice that the complementizing verb form *en-ru* can be deleted. This is, however, only possible in a specific context. *en-ru* can optionally be deleted when (i) the embedded S is an interrogative one, marked with the interrogative clitic *-aa* or an *e-* interrogative pro-form, and (ii) the complement taking predicate consists of a predicate expressing the uncertain attitude of the speaker regarding the truth of the proposition expressed by the complement. Such a predicate may be a verb in imperative form, as in (743), a negative cognitive verb, as in (744), or a dubitative verb, as in (745):

(743) a. [[*kumaar va-nt-aan-aa*] *en-ru*] *paar*
Kumar come-pst-3sm-Q say-vbp look
'Look if Kumar has come.'

b. [*kumaar va-nt-aan-aa*] *paar*
Kumar come-pst-3sm-Q look
'Look if Kumar has come.'

(744) a. [[*kumaar eppootu va-nt-aan*] *en-ru*]
Kumar when come-pst-3sm say-vbp
teri·y-a·v-ill-ai
know-inf-be not-3pln
'(I) don't know when Kumar came.'

b. [*kumaar eppootu va-nt-aan*] *teri·y-a·v-ill-ai*
Kumar when come-pst-3sm know-inf-be not-3pln
'(I) don't know when Kumar came.'

(745) a. [[*kumaar va-nt-aan-aa*] *en-ru*]
Kumar come-pst-3sm-Q say-vbp
canteekappatu-kir-een
doubt-pres-1s
'I doubt whether Kumar came.'

b. [*kumaar va-nt-aan-aa*] *canteekappatu-kir-een*
Kumar come-pst-3sm-Q doubt-pres-1s
'I doubt whether Kumar came.'

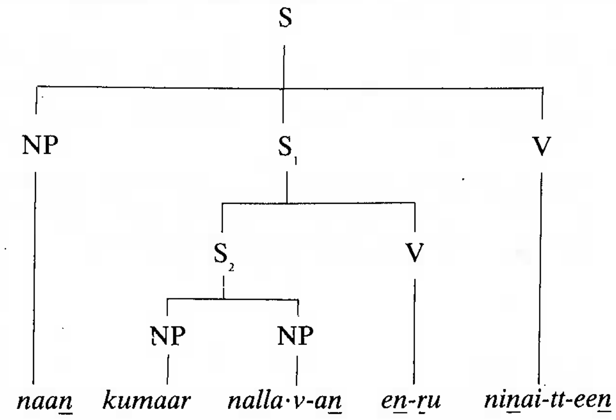
Another syntactic process displayed by *en-ru* complements is Subject to Object Raising, as argued for by Steever (1981b). When the embedded clause of the *en-ru* complement is a verbless clause, its subject NP can optionally be raised out of the embedded clause into the object position of the main clause, where it is assigned accusative case. See the following example for illustration:

(746) a. *naan* [[*kumaar nalla·v-an*] *en-ru*] *ninai-tt-een*
I Kumar nice-3sm say-vbp think-pst-1s
'I thought that Kumar was a nice man'

b. *naan kumaar-ai nalla·v-an en-ru ninai-tt-een*
I Kumar-acc nice-3sm say-vbp think-pst-1s
'I thought Kumar to be a nice man.'

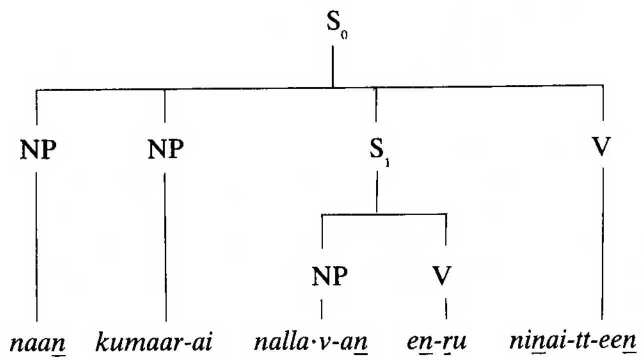
The subject NP *kumaar* of the *en-ru* complement in (746a) is raised to the object position of the main clause in (746b) and assigned accusative case. The structure of (746a), in which the subject NP *kumaar* is not raised, can be represented as follows:

(747)



We assume that (747) is also the underlying structure of (746b). The subject NP *kumaar* of the embedded clause S_2 can now optionally be raised into the object position of the main clause S_0. After the subject NP is raised, the constituency of S_2 is dissolved and the predicate NP *nalla·v-an̲* floats up to S_1, yielding the following derived structure:

(748)



(748) represents the surface structure of (746b) after Subject to Object Raising has occurred. Notice that the nominal predicate of the embedded clause in underlying structure, that is the NP *nalla·v-an̲*, forms one constituent S_1 with the complementizing verb form *en̲-r̲u*. Evidence for this comes from clefting. Remember that in clefting immediate constituents of S are moved over the sentence final nominalized verb. As the following examples show, the NP *kumaar-ai* and the sequence *nalla·v-an̲ en̲-r̲u* can be moved over the sentence final verb. This does not only show that the NP *kumaar-ai* is now an immediate constituent of the main clause, but also that the sequence *nalla·v-an̲ en̲-r̲u* occurs as one and immediate constituent of the main clause. Example:

(749) a. *naan̲ nalla·v-an̲ en̲-r̲u nin̲ai-tt-atu kumaar-ai·t-taan̲*
I nice-3sm say-vbp think-pst-nom Kumar-acc-emph
'It was Kumar that I thought to be a nice man.'

b. *naan̲ kumaar-ai nin̲ai-tt-atu nalla·v-an̲ en̲-r̲u-taan̲*
I Kumar-acc think-pst-nom nice-3sm say-vbp-emph
'It was a nice man that I thought Kumar to be.'

4.63
en̲-p-atu complements

When the future verbal noun form *en̲-p-atu* embeds a clause into a

sentence, the complement consisting of the embedded S and the form *en̲-p-atu* has the categorical status of a nominalized clause or noun phrase. Thus *en̲-p-atu* embeds a clause as a noun phrase. As such, *en̲-p-atu* complements take all case markers and occur in all NP positions except the predicate position. See the following examples:

(750) a. [[*kumaar aṅkee poo·k-a maatt-aan̲*] *en̲-p-atu*] *nalla-tu*
Kumar there go-inf will-3sm say-fu-nom good-3sn
'That Kumar won't go there is good.'

b. [[*aṅkee oru koovil uṇ-ṭu*] *en̲-p-at-ai·k*] *keeḷvippaṭ·ṭ-een̲*
there a temple be-3sn say-fu-nom-acc hear-pst-1s
'I heard that there was a temple.'

c. [[*avan̲ aparaatam katt-a veeṇṭ-um*] *en̲-p-at-ooṭu*]
he fine pay-inf want-fu+3sn say-fu-nom-soc
oru vaaram cir̲ai-kku·p poo·k-a veeṇṭ-um
one week jail-dat go-inf want-fu+3sn
'In addition to the fact that he has to pay a fine, he has to go to jail for one week.'

In (750a) the *en̲-p-atu* complement occurs as subject NP, while in (750b) it occurs as object NP inflected for accusative case and in (750c) as additive adverbial NP marked with the sociative case marker.

Many utterance and cognitive verbs take either a *en̲-r̲u* complement or a *en̲-p-atu* complement inflected for accusative case as argument. See the following example:

(751) a. [[*kumaar pariṭcai·y-il teer̲-a·v-ill-ai*] *en̲-r̲u*]
Kumar exam-loc pass-inf-be not-3pln say-vbp
raajaa con̲-n̲-aan̲
Raja say-pst-3sm
'Raja told that Kumar didn't pass the exam.'

b. [[*kumaar pariṭcai·y-il teer̲-a·v-ill-ai*]
Kumar exam-loc pass-inf-be not-3pln
en̲-p-at-ai] *raajaa con̲-n̲-aan̲*
say-fu-nom-acc Raja say-pst-3sm
'Raja told the fact that Kumar didn't pass the exam.'

As mentioned under 4.49, verbal noun clauses occurring as object NPs of utterance and cognitive verbs have a factive interpretation 'the fact

that'. The same holds good for *en̲-p-atu* complements since they have the status of a verbal noun clause. Thus, in contrast to *en̲-r̲u* complements, *en̲-p-atu* complements of utterance and cognitive verbs are factive complements. As a result, a number of factive cognitive verbs, e.g. *mar̲a* 'forget', do not take *en̲-r̲u*, but only *en̲-p-atu* complements. On the other hand, a number of non-factive verbs, e.g. *karuttu* 'imagine', do not take *en̲-p-atu* complements, but only *en̲-r̲u* complements.

4.64
en̲-r̲-a complements

When the past adjectival participle form *en̲-r̲-a* embeds a clause into a sentence, the complement consisting of the embedded S and the form *en̲-r̲-a* has the categorical status of an adjectival clause. As adjectival clauses *en̲-r̲-a* complements occur as complements to noun phrases and can be interpreted as relative or appositive clauses.

As relative clause a *en̲-r̲-a* complement can, however, be interpreted only in one context. This is when the embedded clause contains the modal auxiliary verb form *-aam*, which occurs only in one finite form and not as adjecival participle. Therefore, when a clause with this modal auxiliary is embedded as relative clause, it appears as *en̲-r̲-a* complement. Example:

(752) [[*kumaar vaaṅk-al-aam*] *en̲-r̲-a*] *viiṭ-ṭ-ai*
Kumar buy-nom-become-fu+3sn say-pst-adj house-acc
naan̲ in̲r̲u paar-tt-een̲
I today see-pst-1s
'Today I saw the house which Kumar may buy.'

In all other cases of their occurrence, *en̲-r̲-a* complements are interpreted as appositive clauses. See the following examples:

(753) a. *kumaar* [[*taṇṇiir var-a·v-ill-ai*] *en̲-r̲-a*]
Kumar water come-inf-be not-3pln say-pst-adj
pukar-ai eẓut-in̲-aan̲
complaint write-pst-3sm
'Kumar wrote the complaint that no water was coming.'

b. [[*taan̲ paṇakkaaran̲*] *en̲-r̲-a*] *timir*
he rich man say-pst-adj arrogance
kumaar-ukku atikam
Kumar-dat plentitude
'Kumar has a lot of arrogance that he is a rich man.'

As shown under (717), *en̲-r̲-a* is required to embed a clause with one of the defective verbs *uḷ*, *il*, *kiṭai*, and *uṭai* as appositive clause. It is also required with the abstract nouns *keeḷvi* 'question' and *canteekam* 'doubt' since these nouns take only interrogative clauses, which occur in finite form, as complements. Example:

(754) [[*kumaar niccayam-aaka varu-v-aan̲-aa*] *en̲-r̲-a*]
Kumar definiteness-adv come-fu-3sm-Q say-pst-adj
canteekam en̲a-kku iru-kkir̲-atu
doubt I-dat be-pres-3sn
'I have the doubt whether Kumar will really come.'

Unless *en̲-r̲-a* is syntactically or semantically required, an adjectival clause and an *en̲-r̲-a* complement occur in free variation as appositive complements to abstract head nouns:

(755) { *tiruṭan̲ varu-kir̲-a* / thief come-pres-adj / *tiruṭan̲ varu-kir̲-aan̲ en̲-r̲-a* / thief come-pres-3sm say-pst-adj } *paya-tt-aal* / fear-obl-inst
kumaar tuuṅk-a·v-ill-ai
Kumar sleep-inf-be not-3pln
'Kumar didn't sleep for fear that a thief would come.'

However, nouns of perception, e.g. *cattam* 'sound', *naar̲r̲am* 'smell', or *uṇarcci* 'feeling' can only take adjectival clauses, but not *en̲-r̲-a* complements as appositive complements:

(756) a. *aṅkee yaar-oo iru-kkir̲-a cattam keeṭ-ṭ-atu*
there who-ind be-pres-adj sound hear-pst-3sn
'The sound that someone was there was heard.'

b. * *aṅkee yaar-oo iru-kkir̲-aarkaḷ en̲-r̲-a cattam*
there who-ind be-pres-3pl say-pst-adj sound
keeṭ-ṭ-atu
hear-pst-3sn

4.65
en̲-r̲·aal complements

When the conditional form *en̲-r̲·aal* embeds a clause into a sentence, the complement consisting of the embedded clause and the form *en̲-r̲·aal* has the categorical status of a conditional clause and, as such, occurs in

the same context as other conditional clauses do. That is they occur adjoined to a main clause and require that the verb of the main clause be inflected for future tense or contain a modal auxiliary. Example:

(757) [[*kumaar nalla·v-an̲*] *en̲-r̲·aal*] *avan̲-ai·k kuuppiṭu-v-oom*
Kumar nice-3sm say-cond he-acc call-fu-1pl
'If Kumar is a nice man, we will call him.'

If the clause embedded with *en̲-r̲·aal* is a verbal clause, its verbal predicate can be inflected for all the three tenses, although the past tense occurs most frequently. In this case the tense markers do, however, not have a semantic function. Example:

(758) [[*kumaar iṅkee* { *va-nt-aan̲* / *varu-kir̲-aan̲*] / *varu-v-aan̲* } *en̲-r̲·aal*]
Kumar here { come-pst-3sm / come-pres-3sm / come-fu-3sm } say-cond
naam aṅkee poo-v-oom
we there go-fu-1pl
'If Kumar comes here, we will go there.'

This concludes our discussion of the complementizing verb *en̲*. We will now turn to the complementizing verb *aaku*, which occurs less frequently than *en̲*.

The verb *aaku*
4.66
As mentioned before, the verb *aaku* 'become' occurs with the following forms as complementizing verb: infinitive form *aak-a*, verbal participle form *aay*, conditional form *aa-n̲·aal*, past adjectival participle form *aak-i·y-a* or *aan̲-a*; and the tenseless verbal noun forms *aa-kai·y-aal* and *aa-tal-aal*, which are inflected for instrumental case. Hereby, the verbal participle form *aay* occurs as a more literary variant for the infinitive form *aaka* in most contexts in which *aaka* occurs and will be ignored henceforth. We will then distinguish the following *aaku* complements:

- *aak-a* complements
- *aa-n̲·aal* complements
- *aak-i·y-a*/
  aa-n̲-a complements
  aa-kai·y-aal/
  aa-tal-aal complements

These complements will be discussed in the following.

4.67
***-aak-a* complements**
The infinitive form *aak-a* embeds a nominalized clause into a sentence and occurs thereby as bound form: The *-aak-a* complements have almost the same distribution as *en̲-r̲u* complements do. They occur as complements to utterance, cognitive, and emotive verbs. See the following examples:

(759) a. [*kumaar in̲r̲u va-nt-at-aak-a*] *raajaa*
Kumar today come-pst-nom-become-inf Raja
con̲-n̲-aan̲
say-pst-3sm
'Raja told that Kumar came today.'

b. [*kumaar oru viiṭ·ṭ-ai·k kaṭṭ-i·y-at-aak-a*]
Kumar a house-acc build-pst-nom-become-inf
nin̲ai-kkir̲-een̲
think-pres-1s
'I think that Kumar has built a house.'

c. [*oru tiruṭan̲ varu-v-at-aak-a·k*] *kumaar*
a thief come-fu-nom-become-inf Kumar
payappaṭu-kir̲-aan̲
be afraid-pres-3sm
'Kumar is afraid that a thief would come.'

However, since *-aak-a* embeds only a nominalized and not a finite clause, it is much more restricted in its occurrence than *en̲-r̲u*. Whereas *en̲-r̲u* complements contain a finite clause and can thus express direct discourse, *-aak-a* complements are used to mark indirect discourse—see 5.6. Apart from similar distribution, there is another common property of *-aak-a* and *en̲-r̲u* complements. Remember that nominalized clauses and *en̲-p-atu* complements are interpreted as factive complements when they occur as complements to utterance and cognitive verbs. If the complement consists now of a verbal noun clause + *-aak-a*, the

complement is not interpreted as factive anymore, but as non-factive, in the same way as *en̲-r̲u* complements. We stated that the complementizing verb form *-aak-a* embeds a verbal noun clause. Since *en̲-p-atu* complements have the categorical status of a verbal noun clause, they can also occur with the complementizing form *-aak-a*. See the following example:

(760) [[*kumaar in̲r̲u va-nt-aan̲*] *en̲-p-at-aak-a*]
Kumar today come-pst-3sm say-fu-nom-become-inf
raajaa con̲-n̲-aan̲
Raja say-pst-3sm
'Raja said that Kumar came yesterday.'

However, there is one context where *-aak-a* can also embed a finite clause. Kothandaraman (1984) notes that when a finite clause contains the modal auxiliary *veeṇṭu*, the clause can be embedded with *-aak-a* before manipulative verbs—which are subcategorized for infinitive complements, provided that the latter are passivized. This is illustrated by the following example:

(761) *kumaar iṅkee var-a veeṇṭ-um-aak-a*
Kumar here come-inf want-fu+3sn-become-inf
veeṇṭukkoḷ-a·p-paṭ·ṭ-aan̲
request-inf-experience-pst-3sm
'Kumar was requested to come here.'

4.68
***aa-n̲·aal* complements**
When the conditional form *aa-n̲·aal* embeds a clause into a sentence, the complement consisting of the embedded clause and the form *aa-n̲·aal* has the categorical status of a conditional clause, as in the case of a clause plus the form *en̲-r̲·aal* discussed under 4.65. See the following examples in which *aa-n̲·aal* embeds a verbless clause in (762a) and a finite verbal clause in (762b):

(762) a. [[*kumaar oru putticaali*] *aa-n̲·aal*] *inta*
Kumar a clever man become-cond this
veelai·y-ai·c ciikkiram cey-v-aan̲
work-acc quickness do-fu-3sm
'If Kumar is a clever man, he will do this work quickly.'

b. [[*nii iṅkee va-nt-aay*] *aa-n̲·aal*] *naam*
you here come-pst-2s become-cond we
kaṭai-kku·p poo·k-al-aam
shop-dat go-nom-become+fu+3sn
'If you come here, we can go shopping.'

4.69
***aak-i·y-a*/*aa-n̲-a* complements**
Under 4.64 we mentioned that when a verbless clause is embedded before a head noun phrase as appositive clause, the complementizing form *en̲-r̲-a* is used. To embed a verbless clause as relative clause *en̲-r̲-a* cannot be used. Instead the past adjectival participle forms of *aaku*, that is *aak-i·y-a* and *aa-n̲-a*, are employed. Note that in this case only one NP of the verbless clause occurs before the head NP on surface structure since—depending on one's analysis of relativization—one of the two NPs of the verbless clause is raised into the empty head NP position or deleted under referential identity with the head NP. This is illustrated in the following.

(763) a. *kumaar tamiẓar*
Kumar Tamilian
'Kumar is a Tamilian.'

b. *tamiẓar aak-i·y-a/aa-n̲-a kumaar*
Tamilian become-pst-adj Kumar
'Kumar who is a Tamilian'

In (763b) the subject NP *kumaar* of (763a) has been relativized. Only the predicate NP *tamiẓar* occurs as overt element of the verbless clause, which is embedded with the verb form *aak-i·y-a* or *aa-n̲-a*. Relativization of noun phrases of a verbless clause is subject to a number of constraints.

First, as observed by Annamalai (1969), only the subject NP, which is a referential expression, can be relativized. Thus in (763a) only the subject NP *kumaar* can be relativized, as in (763b), but not the predicate NP *tamiẓar*:

(764) * *kumaar aak-i·y-a/aa-n̲-a tamiẓar*
Kumar become-pst-adj Tamilian
'the Tamilian, who is Kumar'

Second, when in a verbless clause both the subject and predicate NPs are referential expressions, both NPs can freely permute. Thus (765a) and (765b) are possible:

(765) a. [*intiyaa·v-in̲ talain̲akaram*] [*ṭilli*]
India-euph capital Delhi
'The capital of India is Delhi.'

b. [*ṭilli*] [*intiyaa·v-in̲ talain̲akaram*]
Delhi India-euph capital
'Delhi is the capital of India.'

In such an equative structure, in which both NPs can permute, the subject NP cannot be relativized if the predicate NP is a proper name or pronoun, as in (765a). Thus, (765b) can be relativized, as shown by (766b), but (765a) cannot be relativized, as shown by (766a) since the proper name *ṭilli* occurs as predicate NP.

(766) a. * *ṭilli aak-i·y-a/aa-n̲-a intiyaa·v-in̲ talain̲akaram*
Delhi become-pst-adj India-euph capital
'the capital of India, which is Delhi'

b. *intiyaa·v-in̲ talain̲akaram aak-i·y-a/aa-n̲-a ṭilli*
India-euph capital become-pst-adj Delhi
'Delhi, which is the capital of India.'

4.70
***aa-kai·y-aal/aa-tal-aal* complements**

The tenseless verbal nouns *aa-kai* and *aa-tal* occur inflected for instrumental case, that is with the forms *aa-kai·y-aal* and *aa-tal-aal*, as complementizing forms. Hereby, they embed a verbless or finite verbal clause as causal NP into a sentence. This is illustrated by the following two examples:

(767) a. [[*kumaar nalla·v-an̲*] *aa-kai·y-aal/aa-tal-aal*]
Kumar nice-3sm become-nom-inst
cantai poot-a maatt-aan̲
quarrel put-inf will-3sm
'Because Kumar is a nice man, he won't make a quarrel.'

b. [[*kumaar tappu cey-t-aan̲*] *aa-kai·y-aal/*
Kumar mistake do-pst-3sm become-nom-inst
aa-tal-aal] *avan̲-ai·t tanṭi·kk-a veenṭ-um*
become-nom-inst he-acc punish-inf want-fu+3sn
'Because Kumar has made a mistake, one has to punish him.'

This concludes our discussion of the complementizing verb *aaku*. We will now turn to the complementizing verb *pool*, which occurs least frequently of the three complementizing verbs.

The verb *pool*

4.71

The verb *pool* 'seem, resemble' occurs only with two forms as complementizing verb: the infinitive form *pool-a* and the past adjectival participle form *poon̲-r̲-a*. We will thus distinguish two *pool* complements:

- *pool-a* complements
- *poon̲-r̲-a* complements

4.72
***pool-a* complements**

When the infinitive form *pool-a* embeds a clause into a sentence, the complement consisting of the embedded S and the form *pool-a* has the categorical status of an infinitive clause. The form *pool-a* embeds a verbless or finite verbal clause as well as a tensed conditional clause—for the latter see below. When *pool-a* embeds a verbless or finite verbal clause, it has the semantic function of hypothetical comparison 'as if'. *pool-a* complements occur with appearance verbs such as *teri* 'appear', *toon̲r̲u* 'seem', or *pulappaṭu* 'strike'. Examples:

(768) [[*kumaar nalla·v-an̲*] *pool-a·t*] *toon̲r̲u-kir̲-atu*
Kumar nice-3sm seem-inf seem-pres-3sn
'It seems as if Kumar is a nice man.'

(769) [[*maẓai var-um*] *pool-a·t*] *teri-kir̲-atu*
rain come-fu+3sn seem-inf appear-pres-3sn
'It appears as if rain will come.'

pool-a complements to the verb *toon̲r̲u* 'seem' display the syntactic

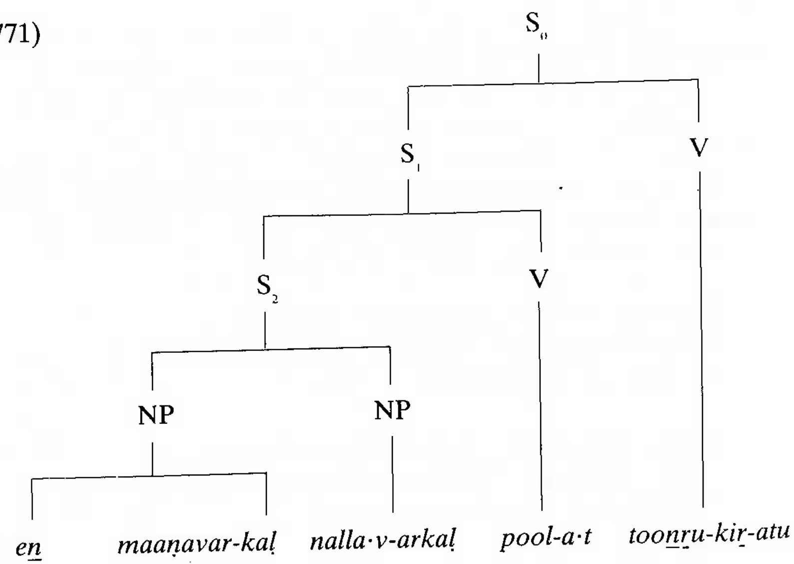
process of Subject to Subject Raising. When the embedded clause is a verbless one, the subject NP of the embedded clause can optionally be raised into the subject position of the main clause, that is as subject NP of the verb *toon̲r̲u*. Compare the following two sentences:

(770) a. *en̲* *maaṇavar-kaḷ* *nalla·v-arkaḷ* *pool-a·t* *toon̲r̲u-kir̲-atu*
I(obl) student-pl nice-3pl seem-inf seem-pres-3sn
'It seems as if my students are nice people.'

b. *en̲* *maaṇavar-kaḷ* *nalla·v-arkaḷ* *pool-a·t*
I(obl) student-pl nice-3pl seem-inf
toon̲r̲u-kir̲-aarkaḷ
seem-pres-3pl
'My students seem to be nice people.'

First note the pronominal suffix of the finite verb in (770a). It is the third person-singular-neuter suffix *-atu*. This is the agreement marker which verbs generally take when they have a nominalized clause as subject NP or only a sentential complement—see 3.3. (770a) is thus a case where a sentential complement—the *pool-a* complement—is embedded before the verb *toon̲r̲u*. This structure can be represented as follows:

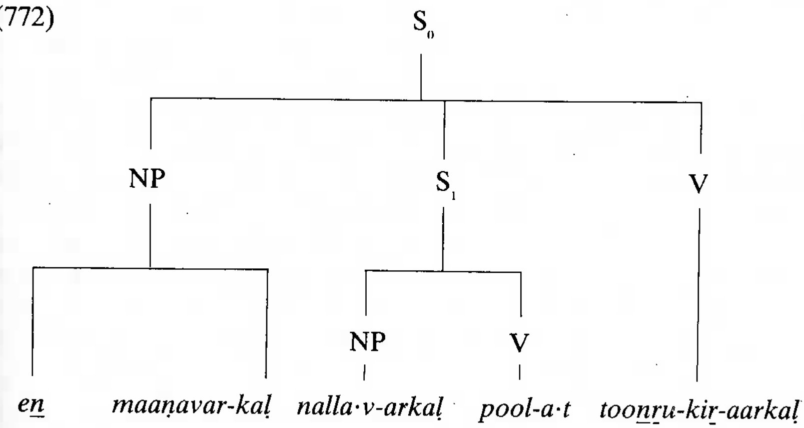
(771)



The *pool-a* complement S_1, consisting of the verbless clause S_2 and the complementizing verb form *pool-a*, occurs as complement to the verbal predicate *toon̲r̲u-kir̲-atu*.

Now notice the pronominal suffix on the finite verb in (770b). It is the third person-plural-epicene suffix *-aarkaḷ*. This the agreement marker coded by a subject NP which has the features [third person, plural], such as the NP *en̲ maaṇavar-kaḷ* 'my students'. This suggests that the NP *en̲ maaṇavar-kaḷ* in (770b) is not the subject of the embedded verbless clause but the subject of the main clause, that is of the finite verb form *toon̲r̲u-kir̲-aarkaḷ*. This is explained if we assume that the subject NP of the embedded clause, the NP *en̲ maaṇavar-kaḷ*, has been raised to the subject position of the main clause. Assuming further that the structure of (771) is also the underlying structure of (770b), then we can analyze the surface structure of (770b) as follows. After the subject of S_2, *en̲ maaṇavar-kaḷ*, is raised into the subject position of the main clause S_0, the constituency of S_2 is dissolved and the predicate NP *nalla·v-arkaḷ* floats up to S_1, as shown by the following surface structure proposed for (770b):

(772)



Corroboration for the fact that the NP *en̲ maaṇavar-kaḷ* is the subject NP of the verbal predicate *toon̲r̲u-kir̲-aarkaḷ* in (770b) comes from the stylistic movement rule of Subject Inversion. Whereas in (770b) the NP *en̲ maaṇavar-kaḷ* can be postposed over the finite verb, as shown by (773a), the NP *en̲ maaṇavar-kaḷ* in (770a) cannot be postposed, as shown by (773b), since it is not the subject of the main clause, but of the embedded clause.

(773) a. *nalla·v-arkaḷ* *pool-a·t* *toon̲r̲u-kir̲-aarkaḷ* *en̲*
nice-3pl seem-inf seem-pres-3pl I(obl)
maaṇavar-kaḷ
student-pl
'My students seem to be nice people.'

b. * *nalla·v-arkaḷ* *pool-a·t* *toonru-kir-atu* *en*
nice-3pl seem-inf seem-pres-3sn I(obl)
maaṇavar-kaḷ
student-pl

We now turn to those complements in which *pool-a* embeds what we have referred to above as tensed conditional clauses. Strictly speaking, the categorical status of the conditional forms which appear in a clause embedded with *pool-a* is unclear. If they are conditional forms, they are a special type of conditional form, different from the ordinary conditional forms. We stated above that the conditional is formed by suffixing the suffix *-aal* to the phoneme cluster of the past tense suffix, which in this case does not have a semantic function and occurs only as phonological support for the suffix *-aal*. When a clause is embedded with *pool-a*, there are now verbal predicate forms in which the conditional suffix is added to the present or past tense suffix, which in this case has the semantic function of time reference. Hereby, the complementizing verb form *pool-a* occurs as bound form after after this peculiar type of conditional form, e.g. *cey-kir-aar-pool-a* and *cey-t-aar-pool-a*. Due to a phonological change, the final lateral of the suffix *-aal* changes into *r* before the following plosive. For the sake of reference, we will call a form like *cey-t-aal* in which the past tense suffix has a semantic function and contrasts with the present tense suffix a tensed conditional form.

A *pool-a* complement containing such a tensed conditional clause occurs now in two contexts: (i) as adverbial, and (ii) as complement to appearance verbs, such as *teri* 'appear', etc. As adverbial, *pool-a* complements with a tensed conditional clause can be interpreted either as manner or as comparison adverbial. See the following examples:

(774) manner adverbial
a. [[*naan* *col-kir-aar*]-*pool-a·c*] *cey*
I say-pres-cond-seem-inf do
'Do as I say.'

b. [[*naan* *con-n-aar*]-*pool-a·c*] *cey*
I say-pst-cond-seem-inf do
'Do as I told you.'

(775) hypothetical comparison
a. [[*keṭṭa* *kanavu* *kaaṇ-kir-aar*]-*pool-a·k*] *kumaar*
bad dream see-pres-cond-seem-inf Kumar
munumunu-kir-aan
murmur-pres-3sm
'Kumar murmurs as if he has a bad dream.'

b. [[*keṭṭa* *kanavu* *kaṇ-ṭ-aar*]-*pool-a·k*] *kumaar*
bad dream see-pst-cond-seem-inf Kumar
anta·c *campava-tt-ai* *mara-ntu* *viṭ-ṭ-aan*
that accident-obl-acc forget-vbp leave-pst-3sm
'As if he had a bad dream, Kumar forgot that accident.'

Notice that the tense suffixes of the tensed conditional forms have a time reference in each case.

In the following examples *pool-a* complements with a tensed conditional clause occur as complements to the appearance verb *toonru* 'seem'.

(776) a. [[*kumaar* *varu-kir-aar*]-*pool-a·t*] *toonru-kir-atu*
Kumar come-pres-cond-seem-inf seem-pres-3sn
'It seems as if Kumar comes.'

b. [[*kumaar* *va-nt-aar*]-*pool-a·t*] *toonru-kir-atu*
Kumar come-pst-cond-seem-inf seem-pres-3sn
'It seems as if Kumar came.'

4.73
poon-r-a complements

When the past adjectival participle form *poon-r-a* embeds a clause, the complement has the categorical status of an adjectival clause. *poon-r-a* complements occur thus as complements to nouns and noun phrases. Hereby, they express the concept of hypothetical comparison. Note that the clause embedded with *poon-r-a* can be either a finite verbal clause (777a) or a tensed conditional clause (777b, c). See the following examples:

(777) a. [[*yaar-oo* *tann-ai* *aṭi-tt-aarkaḷ*] *poon-r-a*]
who-ind he-acc beat-pst-3pl seem-pst-adj
uṇarcci *kumaar-ukku* *va-nt-atu*
feeling Kumar-dat come-pst-3sn
'Kumar got a feeling as if someone had beaten him.'

b. [[*cuuriyan* *prakaaci-kkir-aar*]-*poon-r-a*]
sun shine-pres-cond-seem-pst-adj
veḷiccam *va-nt-atu*
light come-pst-3sn
'A light as if the sun shines came.'

c. [[*iṭi* *viẓu-nt-aar̠]-poon̠-r̠-a]* *cattam*
thunder fall-pst-cond-seem-pst-adj sound
keeṭ-ṭ-atu
hear-pst-3sn
'A sound as if the thunder had struck was heard.'

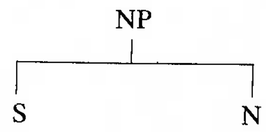
This concludes our discussion of the complementizing verb *pool* and also of complementizing verbs in general. In the following sections we will discuss noun forms which are used as complementizing forms.

Complementizing nouns

4.74

In many languages adverbial clauses consisting of a clause embedded with a complementizer can be paraphrased by complex noun phrases consisting of a noun expressing the semantic role of the adverbial, e.g. time or manner, and a relative clause. Compare the following examples from English: 'We will start [when John comes]' and 'we will start [at the time at which John comes]' or 'John spoke [as I told him]' and 'John spoke [the way I told him]'. Paramasivam (1983:203-8) observes that in Tamil such complex noun phrases with adverbial function have a particular status. To begin with, the head of the complex NPs consists of a noun only (rather than a noun phrase) complemented by an adjectival clause with relative clause function. The most important nouns are *pootu* 'time', *varai* 'limit', *aḷavu* 'extent', *pir̠aku*, *appur̠am*, *pin̠* 'posteriority', *mun̠* 'anteriority', *uṭan̠* 'immediacy', and *paṭi*, *aar̠u* 'manner'. These nouns are morphologically defective, that is, they do not occur with all case markers. Moreover, in all cases of their occurrence these nouns do not occur with noun modifiers, such as adjectives or determiners. Furthermore, the respective nouns, occurring alone as head of a complex noun phrase, do not occur in all NP positions, such as subject and object position. Paramasivam concludes, therefore, that these nouns have lost their nouniness. We will qualify and say that these nouns do not exhibit the full degree of nouniness as other nouns do. These nouns are then best characterized as defective nouns. They are defective both morphologically and syntactically. In the following we will illustrate the various complex noun phrases containing these nouns as their head. Hereby, we will see that some of these nouns have also lost their lexical function and occur thus as complementizing nouns. Since all nouns display the same syntactic properties given above, we will discuss these nouns in one group and under the heading complementizing nouns, even though some nouns have a lexical function. As mentioned before,

all complex noun phrases consist of a head noun complemented by an adjectival clause, as shown by the following representation:

(778)


4.75

The noun *pootu*

The noun *pootu* 'time' can be modified by an adjectival clause with all the three tenses. When the adjectival clause is inflected for past tense, the time reference is to a past event, e.g.

(779) [[*kumaar* *viiṭ-ṭ-ukku* *va-nt-a]* *pootu]* *elloorum*
Kumar house-dat come-pst-adj time everyone
tuuṅk-i-k *koṇ-ṭu* *iru-nt-aarkaḷ*
sleep-vbp hold-vbp be-pst-3pl
'At the time at which Kumar came home, everyone was sleeping.'

When the adjectival clause is inflected for present tense, reference is to future time or habituality, e.g.

(780) [[*kumaar* *varu-kir̠-a]* *pootu]* *tontaravu*
Kumar come-pres-adj time trouble
koṭu-kk-aat-ee
give-neg-emph
'When Kumar comes, don't give him trouble.'

When the adjectival clause is inflected for future tense, reference can be to past or future time or to habituality. The tense of the main clause determines the time reference of the adjectival clause. Example:

(781) [[*kumaar* *kuḷi-kk-um]* *pootu]* { *paaṭ-in̠-aan̠* / *paaṭu-kir̠-aan̠* / *paaṭu-v-aan̠* }
Kumar bathe-fu+adj time { sing-pst-3sm / sing-pres-3sm / sing-fu-3sm }
a) 'At the time Kumar took bath, he sang.'
b) 'At the time Kumar takes bath, he sings.'
c) 'At the time Kumar takes bath, he will sing.'

4.76

The nouns *piṟaku, appuṟam, pin̲*

The nouns *piṟaku*, *pin̲*, and the nominal *appuṟam*, all of which mean 'posteriority', are interpreted for posterior time 'after'. They take as complement an adjectival clause inflected for past tense only. Even though the tense of the adjectival clause is always past, the reference may be to past or future time or to habituality, depending on the time reference of the tense in the main clause. Examples:

(782) a. [[*kumaar va-nt-a*] *piṟaku/pin̲/appuṟam*]
Kumar come-pst-adj posteriority
tan̲ man̲aivi cameyal cey·y-a aarampi-tt-aaḷ
he(obl) wife cooking do-inf start-pst-3sf
'After Kumar came, his wife started cooking.'

b. [[*kumaar caappiṭ·ṭ-a*] *piṟaku/pin̲/appuṟam*]
Kumar eat-pst-adj posteriority
iṅkee varu-v-aan̲
here come-fu-3sm
'After eating, Kumar will come here.'

4.77

The noun *mun̲*

The noun *mun̲* 'anteriority' is interpreted for anterior time 'before'. It occurs with an adjectival clause inflected for future tense only. The reference of the future tense suffix may be to past or future time or to habituality, depending on the time reference of the tense of the main clause. Examples:

(783) a. [[*kumaar var-um*] *mun̲*] *kuuṭṭam*
Kumar come-fu+adj anteriority meeting
aarampi-tt-atu
start-pst-3sn
'Before Kumar came, the meeting had started.'

b. [[*maẓai var-um*] *mun̲*] *naam viṭ·ṭu-kku·p*
rain come-fu+adj anteriority we house-dat
poo·k-a veenṭ-um
go-inf want-fu+3sn
'Before the rain comes, we have to go home.'

4.78

The noun *uṭan̲*

The noun *uṭan̲* 'immediacy' is complemented by an adjectival clause inflected for past tense and translates as 'as soon as'. The time reference of the main clause determines the time reference of the past tense suffix in the adjectival clause, e.g., past or future time, or habituality. Examples:

(784) a. [[*kumaar kuuppiṭ·ṭ-a*] *uṭan̲*] *poo-n̲-een̲*
Kumar call-pst-adj immediacy go-pst-1s
'As soon as Kumar called, I went.'

b. [[*kumaar va-nt-a*] *uṭan̲*] *kuuppiṭu-v-een̲*
Kumar come-pst-adj immediacy call-fu-1s
'As soon as Kumar comes, I will call (you).'

4.79

The noun *varai*

The noun *varai* 'end, limit' occurs as head noun of an adjectival clause in the form inflected for dative case and followed by the clitic *-um*, that is with the form *varai-kk-um*. This noun form can be interpreted semantically in various ways, which we will illustrate in the following.

i) *varai-kk-um* corresponds semantically to 'as long as' in English. When the verb of the main clause is inflected for past tense, the adjectival clause is inflected for past or present tense, both of which have reference to past time:

(785) [[*kumaar veelai cey-t-a/ cey-kiṟ-a*] *varai-kk-um*]
Kumar work do-pst-adj do-pres-adj end-dat-incl
naan̲ kaattiru-nt-een̲
I wait-pst-1s
'As long as Kumar worked, I was waiting.'

When the verb of the main clause is inflected for present or future tense, the adjectival clause is inflected for present tense, which has reference to present or future time. Example:

(786) [[*kumaar paṭi-kkiṟ-a*] *varai-kk-um*] *haasṭaal-il*
Kumar study-pres-adj end-dat-incl hostel-loc
taṅku-kiṟ-aan̲
stay-pres-3sm
'As long as Kumar studies, he stays in the hostel.'

ii) *varai-kk-um* corresponds semantically to 'until' in English. In this case the adjectival clause is inflected for present tense, irrespective of the tense of the main clause. Examples:

(787) [[*kumaar varu-kir̲-a*] *varai-kk-um*] *naan̲*
Kumar come-pres-adj end-dat-incl I
kaattiru-nt-een̲
wait-pst-1s
'I waited until Kumar came.'

(788) [[*kumaar varu-kir̲-a*] *varai-kk-um*] *naan̲*
Kumar come-pres-adj end-dat-incl I
kaattiru-pp-een̲
wait-fu-1s
'I will wait until Kumar comes.'

iii) *varai-kk-um* corresponds semantically also to 'as far as' in English. Hereby, the adjectival clause is always inflected for past tense, as in the following example:

(789) [[*en̲a-kku·t teri-nt-a*] *varai-kk-um*] *kumaar*
I-dat know-pst-adj end-dat-incl Kumar
iṅkee var-a maaṭṭ-aan̲
here come-inf will-3sm
'As far as I know, Kumar won't come here.'

iv) *varai-kk-um* corresponds semantically to 'to the extent of' in English. Hereby the adjectival clause is always inflected for past tense. Example:

(790) [[*kumaar eẓut-i·y-a*] *varai-kk-um*] *anta·k kaṭṭurai*
Kumar write-pst-adj end-dat-incl that article
nan̲r̲-aaka iru-nt-atu
goodness-adv be-pst-3sn
'That article was good to the extent Kumar wrote it.'

v) *varai-kk-um* corresponds also semantically to 'as much as' in English when the preceding adjectival clause contains the abilitative modal auxiliary verb *muṭi* inflected for past tense. The main verb of the auxiliary verb is usually deleted. Example:

(791) [[*niiṅkaḷ muṭi-nt-a*] *varai-kk-um*] *cey·y-uṅkaḷ*
you(pl) end-pst-adj end-dat-incl do-imp+pl
'Do as much as you can.'

4.80
The noun *aḷavu*

The noun *aḷavu* 'extent' inflected for dative case, that is with the form *aḷavu-kku*, occurs as head noun of an adjectival clause inflected for past or present tense, according to time reference. Examples:

(792) [[*kumaar paṭi-tt-a*] *aḷavu-kku*] *raajaa*
Kumar study-pst-adj extent-dat Raja
paṭi·kk-a·v-ill-ai
study-inf-be not-3pln
'Raja didn't study to the extent Kumar studied.'

(793) [[*kumaar veelai cey-kir̲-a*] *aḷavu-kku*] *yaar-um*
Kumar work do-pres-adj extent-dat who-incl
veelai cey·y-a maaṭṭ-aarkaḷ
work do-inf will-3pl
'No one will work to the extent that Kumar works.'

4.81
The nouns *paṭi*, *maatiri*

The nouns *paṭi* and *maatiri*, both meaning 'manner, way', occur as head noun of an adjectival clause inflected for past or present tense, according to time reference. Examples:

(794) a. [[*naan̲ con̲-n̲-a*] *paṭi/maatiri*] *cey*
I say-pst-adj way do
'Do (it) the way I said.'

b. [[*naan̲ col-kir̲-a*] *paṭi/maatiri*] *cey*
I say-pres-adj way do
'Do (it) the way I say.'

The noun *maatiri* (but not the noun *paṭi*) can also express hypothetical comparison 'as if'. Example:

(795) [[*yaar-oo varu-kir̲-a*] *maatiri*] *teri-kir̲-atu*
who-ind come-pres-adj way appear-pres-3sn
'It looks as if someone comes.'

As noted by Paramasivam (1983:206), the noun *paṭi* occurs also inflected for instrumental case to form a causal adverbial, e.g.

(796) [[*kumaar kuẓappaṭ·ṭ-a*] *paṭi·y-aal-ee*]
Kumar get confused-pst-adj way-inst-emph
inta·t tapp-ai·c cey-t-aan
this mistake-acc do-pst-3sm
'Because Kumar got confused, he made this mistake.'

4.82
The nouns *paṭi*, *aaru*

Both the nouns *paṭi* and *aaru* 'manner, way' occur as bound head nouns of an adjectival clause inflected for future tense or negative polarity. Hereby, the nouns *paṭi* and *aaru* do not have their lexical function, but occur as complementizing nouns which mark the complex noun phrase either as purpose or result adverbial, or as complement of manipulative verbs.

When *paṭi* and *aaru* express the semantic concept of purpose, the subject of the adjectival clause is coreferential with a non-subject NP of the main clause and deleted. See the following examples:

(797) a. *kumaar tan paiyan-ai matraas-ukku·p*
Kumar he(obl) boy-acc Madras-dat
[[*paṭi·kk-um*]-*paṭi*] *anupp-in-aan*
study-fu+adj-way send-pst-3sm
'Kumar sent his son to Madras so that he should study.'

b. *naan kumaar-iṭam* [[*oru viiṭu kaṭṭ-um*]-*aaru*]
I Kumar-loc a house build-fu+adj-way
paṇam koṭu-tt-een
money give-pst-1s
'I gave money to Kumar so that he should build a house.'

In (797a) the subject NP of the adjectival clause is coreferential with the object NP *tan paiyan-ai* of the main clause and thus deleted. Similarly, in (797b) the subject NP of the adjectival clause is deleted, being coreferential with the indirect object NP *kumaar-iṭam* of the main clause. We mentioned above that purpose is also expressed by the infinitive clause. As there are no negative infinitive forms, the non finite verb form strategy cannot express negative purpose. Since the complementizing nouns *paṭi* and *aaru* embed, however, an adjectival clause, which can occur in negative form, the use of *paṭi* and *aaru* allows to express negative purpose. See the following examples:

(798) a. *kuẓantai·y-ai·k* [[*katt-aat-a*]-*paṭi*] *toṭṭil-il*
child-acc cry-neg-adj-way cradle-loc
pooṭ·ṭ-een
put-pst-1s
'(I) put the child into the cradle so that it should not cry.'

b. [[*inta·t tapp-ai miiṇṭum cey·y-aat-a·v*]-*aaru*]
this mistake-acc again do-neg-adj-way
naan kumaar-ai·t tiṭṭ-in-een
I Kumar-acc scold-pst-1s
'I scolded Kumar so that he should not do this mistake again.'

The second concept which *paṭi* and *aaru* express is result. In the following examples the complex noun phrases occur as adverbials of result.

(799) a. [[*koñcam puri·y-um*]-*paṭi*] *collu-ṅkaḷ*
little understand-fu+adj-way say-imp+pl
'Talk so that one can understand a little.'

b. *kumaar enn-ai* [[*rattam var-um*]-*aaru*]
Kumar I-acc blood come-fu+adj-way
aṭi-tt-aan
beat-pst-3sm
'Kumar beat me so that blood came.'

Under 4.11 we showed that manipulative verbs, such as *collu* 'say', *keeḷu* 'ask', *veeṇṭukkoḷ* 'request', *uttaraviṭu* 'order', take an infinitive clause as complement. Alternatively, manipulative verbs can also take a complex noun phrase with the head noun *paṭi* and *aaru* as complement. As in the case of an infinitive clause, the constituency of the embedded clause is dissolved and the subject NP of the embedded adjectival clause occurs on surface structure as object NP of the manipulative verb, which assigns accusative case. See the following examples:

(800) a. *naan kumaar-ai·p pook-um-paṭi con-n-een*
I Kumar-acc go-fu+adj-way say-pst-1s
'I told Kumar to go.'

b. *kumaar raajaa·v-ai uṭkaar-um-aaru veeṇṭukkoṇ-ṭ-aan*
Kumar Raja-acc sit-fu+adj-way request-pst-3sm
'Kumar requested Raja to sit down.'

This concludes our discussion of complementizing nouns. In the following we will describe the final strategy Tamil uses to embed and adjoin clauses: clitics.

Complementizing clitics

4.83

As discussed under 2.54-81, Tamil has a closed set of clitics, which can be added to various constituents of the sentence and—in the majority of cases—with a variety of syntactic and semantic functions. When the two clitics *-ee* and *-oo* occur in clause final position after a finite verb, they perform complementizing function, that is, they mark a clause as embedded or adjoined clause and link it to its respective head.

In the preceding sections we demonstrated the strategies using complementizing verbs and nouns in complex sentence formation. On the one hand, these strategies complement the strategy which use non-finite and nominalized verb forms in sofar as they overcome the restrictions on embedding to which the strategy of non-finite and nominalized verb forms is subject to. On the other hand, in many cases the strategies of complementizing verbs and nouns provide simply an additional or alternative strategy to the one which employs non-finite and nominalized verb forms. The same state of affairs applies to the strategy to use complementizing clitics. In some cases, this strategy complements both the strategy of non-finite and nominalized verb forms as well as the strategies of complementizing verbs and nouns. That is to say they form structures which yield semantic interpretations not attainable from the structures generated by the other two strategies, see, for example, correlative relative clauses with the clitic *-oo* below. In other cases, the clitic strategy is simply an additional or alternative strategy to form complex structures.

In the following we will illustrate the various types of contexts in which the two clitics *-ee* and *-oo* occur with complementizing function.

4.84

Complement of postpositions

The clitic *-ee* embeds a finite clause as complement to the two postpositions *tavira* and *oẓiya*, both of which mean 'except'. These two postpositions form a postpositional phrase by taking either a simple NP or a nominalized clause marked for accusative case as argument NP or by taking a finite clause marked with the clause final clitic *-ee* as complement. The latter is illustrated by the following example:

(801) $[_{PP}$ $[_{S}$ *eṉṉ-iṭam peec-iṉ-aaṉ-ee*] *tavira·k*] *kumaar*
I-loc talk-pst-3sm-comp except Kumar
yaar-iṭam-um peec-a·v-ill-ai
who-loc-incl talk-inf-be not-3pln
'Except that he talked to me, Kumar didn't talk to anyone.'

4.85

Conditional

The clitic *-oo* adjoins a clause with a finite verb inflected for past tense as complement to a matrix clause. In this case, the adjoined complement with the clitic *-oo* does not only express conditional function 'if', but also indicates the negative attitude of the speaker towards the occurrence of the event expressed by the adjoined complement. Thus, this construction is very much restricted to context, e.g. it occurs in the speech context of threatening, as illustrated by (802a), or when the speaker wants to express his disagreement towards the occurrence of the event described by the adjoined clause (802b). Examples:

(802) a. [*nii aẓu-t-aay-oo*] *uṉṉ-ai aṭi-pp-eeṉ*
you cry-pst-2s-comp you-acc beat-fu-1s
'If you cry, I will beat you.'

b. [*ammaa terintukkoṇ-ṭ-aarkaḷ-oo*] *tiṭṭu-v-aarkaḷ*
mother find out-pst-3pl-comp scold-fu-3pl
'If mother finds (it) out, she will scold.'

4.86

Correlative relative clauses

In the discussion of adjectival clauses we saw that the formation of relative clauses on the adjectival clause strategy was very much constrained. The use of complementizing adjectival participles like *eṉ-ṟ-a* and *aak-i·y-a/aa-ṉ-a* has, however, overcome only one type of constraint: the one involving clauses whose predicate cannot appear as adjectival participle. Thus Tamil syntax requires an additional strategy to form relative clauses. This strategy is the correlative relative clause strategy: the clause final clitic *-oo* embeds a finite clause as complement to a head NP. Hereby, the head NP consists of a remote demonstrative NP, that is a NP whose head noun is marked with the remote demonstrative determiner *anta* 'that, those', or whose head NP is a noun consisting of a remote demonstrative word, e.g. *aṅku* 'that place, there'—see 2.11 for

more details. The finite clause embedded with *-oo* is always embedded as relative clause modifying the demonstrative head NP. See the following examples for illustration:

(803) a. [$_{NP}$ [$_S$ *neerru enta·p paiyan va-nt-aan-oo*]
yesterday which boy come-pst-3sm-comp
[$_{NP}$ *anta·p paiyan-ai*]] *naan inru paar-tt-een*
that boy-acc I today see-pst-1s
'Today I saw the boy who came yesterday.'
Lit. 'Which boy came yesterday, that boy I saw today.'

b. [$_{NP}$ [$_S$ *uṅkaḷ-ukku evvaḷavu veeṇṭ-um-oo*]
you(pl)-dat how much want-fu+3sn-comp
[$_{NP}$ *avvaḷavu*]] *naan taru-kir-een*
that much I give-pres-1s
'I will give you as much (that amount) as (which) you want.'
Lit. 'How much you want, that much I will give you.'

c. [$_{NP}$ [$_S$ *kumaar eṅkee uṭkaar-kir-aan-oo*] [$_{NP}$ *aṅkee*]]
Kumar where sit-pres-3sm-comp there
naan uṭkaaru-v-een
I sit-fu-1s
'I will sit where Kumar sits.'
Lit. 'Where Kumar sits, there I will sit.'

As mentioned in the above relative constructions, the head NP is always a remote demonstrative NP. In (803a) the head noun is marked with the determiner *anta*. In (803b) the head noun *aḷavu* is marked with the bound determiner *a-*, and in (803c) the head noun consists of the demonstrative word *aṅkee*. Notice that these head NPs are represented overtly in the preceding relative clause. Moreover, the NPs in the relative clause representing the head NP are always marked with the interrogative determiner, realized as *enta* or *e-* 'which', or consisting of an interrogative word, like *eṅkee* 'where'. This type of relative construction contains thus a correlative pair of an interrogative NP in the relative clause—the representation of the head NP—and a remote demonstrative NP—the head NP of the relative clause. The interrogative marker of the NP in the relative clause tells us that the NP so marked is the representation of the head NP in the relative clause. For this reason, the interrogative marker functions here as correlative marker. The relative clause containing one member of the correlative pair of nominals is then referred to as correlative relative clause. The various correlative pairs of

correlative and demonstrative NPs which occur in this correlative construction are listed below.

Correlative NPs	Demonstrative NPs
enta 'which' + N	*anta* 'that' + N
evan 'which male person'	*avan* 'that male person'
evaḷ 'which female person'	*avaḷ* 'that female person'
evar 'which person (hon.)'	*avar* 'that person (hon.)'
evarkaḷ 'which persons'	*avarkaḷ* 'those persons'
etu 'which thing',	
enna 'what'	*atu* 'that thing'
evaikaḷ 'which things'	*avaikaḷ* 'those things'
eppootu 'which time, when'	*appootu* 'that time, then'
eṅkee 'which place, where'	*aṅkee* 'that place, where'
eppaṭi 'which way, how'	*appaṭi* 'that way, so'
evvaḷavu 'which amount, how much'	*avvaḷavu* 'that amount, this much'
ettanai 'which number, how many'	*attanai* 'that number, that many'

yaar 'who' occurs with all masculine, feminine, epicene demonstrative pronouns: *avan*, *avaḷ*, *avar*, *avarkaḷ*

The correlative clause strategy to form relative clauses is described in detail by Ramasamy (1981). Ramasamy observes that the correlative relative clause strategy is not subject to the various constraints to which the adjectival clause strategy is subject to and is thus necessary in Tamil syntax for the formation of relative constructions. We stated above that the adjectival clause strategy to form relative clauses cannot relativize, for example, (i) purposive and causal NPs, (ii) NPs occurring with bound postpositions, e.g. the sociative case marker *-ooṭu*, or the locative case marker *-iṭam*, (iii) genitive noun phrases, (iv) noun phrases occurring with a certain number of postpositions, etc. Ramasamy demonstrates that all these noun phrases can be relativized on the correlative clause strategy. We will illustrate this with two examples. Instrumental case noun phrases expressing the semantic role of cause—see (657)—can be relativized.

(804) a. *oru nooyaaḷi peeti·y-aal ce-ttu viṭ·ṭ-aan*
a patient cholera-inst die-vbp leave-pst-3sm
'A patient died because of cholera.'

b. *enta·p peeti·y-aal oru nooyaaḷi ce-ttu*
which cholera-inst a patient die-vbp
viṭ·ṭ-aan̲-oo anta·p peeti mikavum
leave-pst-3sm-comp that cholera much
parav-i·y-atu
spread-pst-3sn
'The cholera because of which a patient died spread much.'

NPs with bound postpositions, e.g. the locative case marker *-iṭam*—see (660), can be relativized.

(805) a. *kuẓantai ammaa·v-iṭam ooṭ-i·y-atu*
child mother-loc run-pst-3sn
'The child ran to the mother.'

b. *kuẓantai enta ammaa·v-iṭam ooṭ-i·y-at-oo anta*
child which mother-loc run-pst-3sn-comp that
ammaa at-ai·t tuukk-in̲-aarkaḷ
mother it-acc lift-pst-3pl
'The mother to whom the child ran lifted it up.'

This shows that the correlative relative clause strategy complements the defective or constrained adjectival clause strategy to form relative constructions.

Finally note the following property of correlative relative clauses: the NP representing the head NP in the correlative relative clause can be clefted. This is illustrated by (806b):

(806) a. *evan̲ uṅkaḷ-ai aṭi-tt-aan̲-oo avan̲*
which-he you(pl)-acc beat-pst-3sm-comp he
en̲n̲-ai·y-um aṭi-tt-aan̲
I-acc-incl beat-pst-3sm
'He who beat you has beaten me also.'

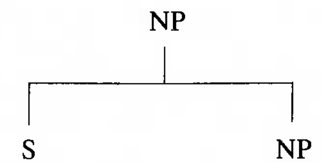
b. *uṅkaḷ-ai aṭi-tt-atu evan̲-oo avan̲*
you(pl)-acc beat-pst-nom which-he-comp he
en̲n̲-ai·y-um aṭi-tt-aan̲
I-acc-incl beat-pst-3sm
'He, who it was that beat you, has beaten me also.'

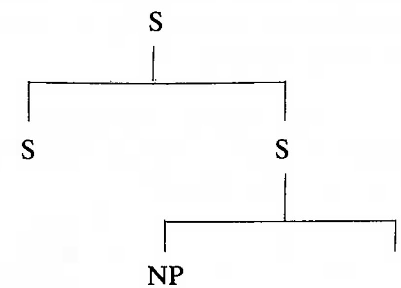
4.87
'Tag' complements
A finite clause can be embedded with the clause final clitic *-ee* before a noun phrase as complement to that NP. The head NP consists always of a remote demonstrative NP—see the previous section. Examples:

(807) *neer̲r̲u oru paiyan̲ iṅkee va-nt-aan̲-ee anta·p*
yesterday a boy here come-pst-3sm-comp that
paiyan̲-ai naan̲ in̲r̲u paar-tt-een̲
boy-acc I today see-pst-1s
'Today I saw that boy who came here yesterday.'

(808) *kumaar uuru-kku·p poo-n̲-aan̲-ee anta·k kavalai*
Kumar town-dat go-pst-3sm-comp that worry
atikam
plentitude
'The worry that Kumar went out of town is great.'

Whereas the complement in (807) is interpreted as relative clause, the one in (808) is interpreted as appositive clause. To begin our discussion of this construction note that one might assume that in the above examples the clitic *-ee* does not embed a finite clause as complement to a head NP, but simply adjoins a finite clause to a matrix clause with a demonstrative NP in initial position, that is, that both the finite clause + *-ee* and the demonstrative NP do not form one NP constituent. In other words, the above examples would not represent a case of noun phrase complementation, as shown in (809), but a structure of adjoined complementation, as shown in (810):

(809)


(810)


However, there is evidence that both the finite clause + clitic *-ee* and the demonstrative NP form one constituent, as represented by (809). Note that in cleft constructions, the demonstrative NP cannot be moved without the preceding S marked with the clitic *-ee*. Example:

(811) * [*ner̲r̲u oru paiyan̲ iṅkee va-nt-aan̲-ee*] *naan̲*
yesterday a boy here come-pst-3sm-comp I
in̲r̲u paar-tt-atu [*anta·p paiyan̲-ai·t-taan̲*]
today see-pst-nom that boy-acc-emph

The demonstrative NP can only be moved together with the preceding finite clause + clitic *-ee*, which suggests that the latter is a complement of the former and both together form one NP constituent:

(812) *naan̲ in̲r̲u paar-tt-atu* [$_{NP}$ [$_{S}$ *neer̲r̲u oru paiyan̲*
I today see-pst-nom yesterday a boy
iṅkee va-nt-aan̲-ee] [$_{NP}$ *anta·p paiyan̲-ai·t-taan̲*]]
here come-pst-3sm-comp that boy-acc-emph
'It was the boy who came here yesterday that I saw today.'

For further arguments to the same effect see Annamalai (1969): for example, no element can be scrambled between the finite clause + clitic *-ee* and the demonstrative NP. Annamalai interprets this type of complement as tag construction with the clitic *-ee* as tag marker. The tag *-ee* reminds the hearer that he shares with the speaker the knowledge regarding the propostion of the complement. First note that a speaker using this construction presupposes that the hearer knows about the proposition expressed by the complement. For example, in (807) he assumes that the hearer knows that 'a boy came yesterday' and in (808) he assumes that the hearer knows that 'Kumar went out of town'. Second, the complement expresses always an actual or factual event, but not a hypothetical event. This is shown by the constraint that the complement clause cannot contain future tense or a modal auxiliary verb. See the following examples:

(813) a. *neer̲r̲u oru paiyan̲ va-nt-aan̲-ee anta·p paiyan̲*
yesterday a boy come-pst-3sm-comp that boy
'a boy came yesterday, that boy'

b. * *naaḷai oru paiyan̲ varu-v-aan̲-ee anta·p paiyan̲*
tomorrow a boy come-fu-3sm-comp that boy
'a boy will come tomorrow, that boy'

c. * *naaḷai oru paiyan̲ var-al-aam-ee anta·p*
tomorrow a boy come-nom-become+fu+3sn that
paiyan̲
boy
'a boy may come tomorrow, that boy'

We will now discuss those tag complements which have relative clause function, as illustrated by (807). For the sake of convenience, we will repeat (807) as (814):

(814) [$_{NP}$ [$_{S}$ *neer̲r̲u oru paiyan̲ iṅkee va-nt-aan̲-ee*]
yesterday a boy here come-pst-3sm-comp
[$_{NP}$ *anta·p paiyan̲-ai*]] *naan̲ in̲r̲u paar-tt-een̲*
that boy-acc I today see-pst-1s
'Today I saw that boy who came here yesterday/
Yesterday a boy came here, I saw that boy today.'

Note that the head NP of the relative clause is represented by an overt NP in the relative clause, the NP *oru paiyan̲*. This NP is interpreted as coreferential with the head NP *anta·p paiyan̲-ai*. Regarding the scope of possible relative constructions, the tag relative clause strategy is similar to the correlative relative clause strategy in permitting relative clause constructions not possible with the adjectival clause strategy. This does however not mean that the tag complement strategy, like the correlative clause strategy, complements the constrained adjectival clause strategy. As mentioned above, the use of the tag complement strategy to form relative constructions is semantically and pragmatically conditioned. To show the scope of relative constructions, a NP with the thematic role of purpose and cause can be relativized in the same way as genitive NPs or NPs with bound postpostions. We will illustrate this for genitive NPs.

(815) a. *niiṅkaḷ oru paṇakkaaran̲-atu viiṭ·ṭ-il taṅk-in̲-iirkaḷ*
you-pl a rich man-gen house-loc stay-pst-2pl
'You stayed in the house of a rich man.'

b. *niiṅkaḷ oru paṇakkaaran̲-atu viiṭ·ṭ-il*
you(pl) a rich man-gen house-loc
taṅk-in̲-iirkaḷ-ee anta·p paṇakkaaran̲ yaar
stay-pst-2pl-comp that rich man who
'Who is the rich man in whose house you stayed.'

Next we will consider some properties of the tag relative construction.

First note that the NP representing the head NP in the relative clause can be moved over the finite verb + clitic *-ee* by a stylistic movement transformation. This is illustrated for (814) by the follwing example:

(816) [[*neerru iṅkee va-nt-aan-ee oru paiyan*]
yesterday here come-pst-3sm-comp a boy
[*anta·p paiyan-ai*]] *naan inru paar-tt-een*
that boy-acc I today see-pst-1s
'Today I saw the boy who came here yesterday.'

Second, the NP representing the head NP in the relative clause can be deleted. Thus (814) can be realized as:

(817) [[*neerru iṅkee va-nt-aan-ee*] [*anta·p paiyan-ai*]]
yesterday here come-pst-3sm-comp that boy-acc
naan inru paar-tt-een
I today see-pst-1s
'Today I saw the boy who came here yesterday.'

Note, however, that not all NPs representing the head NP in the relative clause can be deleted. Only nominative (as in the above example), accusative, and locative case NPs can be deleted. This concludes our discussion of complex constructions in Tamil. In the final chapter we will deal with miscellaneous topics not discussed sofar, such as anaphora, clefting, topicalization, reported speech, etc.

Chapter 5

Miscellaneous topics

Anaphora

5.1

In our discussion of anaphora in Tamil we will deal with bound anaphors, that is grammatical elements which are obligatorily assigned an antecedent within the sentence. We will first discuss reflexive constructions. Hereby, we will show that Tamil does not have a morphological reflexive pronoun. Instead, personal pronouns occur in reflexive constructions and are interpreted as bound anaphors. The reflexive meaning is also conveyed by a reflexive auxiliary verb. In the discussion of reciprocal constructions, we will show that Tamil does not have a morphological reciprocal pronoun either. The reciprocal meaning is expressed by the double occurrence of indefinite nominals. Finally, we will discuss the fourth person pronoun *taaṉ*, a special anaphoric pronoun, which occurs always as bound anaphor.

5.2
Reflexivity

Reflexivity may be defined syntactically as follows: reflexivity refers to a clause in which two noun phrases are interpreted as coreferential. Thus, the clause 'John beat himself' is a reflexive construction since the subject NP 'John' and the object NP 'himself' are interpreted as coreferential. Similarly, the clause 'John beats his head' is syntactically a reflexive construction since two NPs—the subject NP 'John' and the possessive NP 'his'—are interpreted as coreferential.

There are basically two devices to mark reflexivity: (i) marking one of the two coreferential noun phrases, e.g. by a reflexive pronoun, (ii) marking of the verb by a verbal affix or use of auxiliary verbs. To mark a reflexive construction, Tamil uses to some extent an auxiliary verb—the verb *koḷ*. Otherwise, a reflexive construction is not marked in whatever way. We will now illustrate some reflexive constructions. In the following examples both the subject and object NP are interpreted as coreferential.

(818) a. *naaṉ*$_i$ *eṉṉ-ai*$_i$ *maṟa-ntu* *viṭ·ṭ-eeṉ*
I I-acc forget-vbp leave-pst-1s
'I forgot myself.'

b. *nii*$_i$ *uṉṉ-ai*$_i$ *aẓi-ttu* *viṭ·ṭ-aay*
you you-acc destroy-vbp leave-pst-1s
'You destroyed yourself.'

c. *kumaar*$_i$ *tan̲n̲-ai*$_i$ *ver̲u-kkir̲-aan̲*
Kumar he-acc hate-pres-3sm
'Kumar hates himself.'

In (818a) the subject NP is a first person pronoun and the coreferential object NP is also realized by a first person pronoun. In (818b) the subject NP is a second person pronoun and the coreferential object NP is, likewise, realized by a second person pronoun. In (818c) the subject NP is a third person NP. The coreferential object NP is, however, not realized by a third person pronoun. As shown by the following example, a third person pronoun is interpreted as disjoint in reference with the subject NP and can thus not occur in a reflexive construction:

(819) *kumaar*$_i$ *avan̲-ai*$_j$ *ver̲u-kkir̲-aan̲*
Kumar he-acc hate-pres-3sm
'Kumar hates him.'

As shown by (818c) the coreferential object NP of a third person subject NP is realized by the fourth person pronoun *taan̲*, which, as mentioned, is a special anaphoric pronoun with reference to third person only—see also 5.4 below. In the above examples no special device is used to mark these clauses as reflexive constructions. Personal pronouns are used to express one of the two coreferential NPs. There is no morphological reflexive pronoun. Nor is there a special verbal suffix or an auxiliary verb. Nevertheless, there is one context in which an auxiliary verb—the verb *koḷ* 'hold', discussed under 3.40—occurs as marker of reflexivity. First note the following observation by Annamalai (1969). When the fourth person pronoun *taan̲* occurs with non-subject function in an embedded clause, there is an ambiguity between a reflexive and non-reflexive interpretation since the antecedent of the fourth person pronoun may be either the subject NP of the embedded clause—in which case we get a reflexive interpretation—or the subject NP of the higher clause—in which case we get a non-reflexive interpretation. See the following example:

(820) *kumaar*$_i$ [*raajaa*$_j$ *tan̲n̲-ai*$_{i,j}$ *par̲r̲i·p* *peec-in̲-aan̲* *en̲-r̲u*]
Kumar Raja he-acc about talk-pst-3sm say-vbp
nin̲ai-tt-aan̲
think-pst-3sm
a) 'Kumar thought that Raja$_j$ talked about himself$_j$.'
b) 'Kumar$_i$ thought that Raja talked about him$_i$.'

Under interpretation a) the pronoun *taan̲* refers to the subject NP *raajaa* of the embedded clause. This means the construction is interpreted as a reflexive one. Under interpretation b), however, the pronoun *taan̲* refers to the subject NP *kumaar* of the higher clause. Thus we do not get a reflexive meaning. Now notice that this ambiguity can be removed when the auxiliary verb *koḷ* is added to the verbal predicate of the embedded clause. The presence of the auxiliary verb *koḷ* binds the scope of reference of the pronoun *taan̲* to the subject NP of the same clause. Doing this, the auxiliary verb *koḷ* marks the embedded clause as a reflexive construction:

(821) *kumaar* [*raajaa*$_j$ *tan̲n̲-ai·p*$_j$ *par̲r̲i·p* *peec-i·k* *koṇ-ṭ-aan̲*
Kumar Raja he-acc about talk-vbp hold-pst-3sm
en̲-r̲u] *nin̲ai-tt-aan̲*
say-vbp think-pst-3sm
'Kumar thought that Raja talked about himself.'

In other contexts, that is in simplex clause constructions, the auxiliary verb *koḷ* occurs optionally in many cases, as shown by the following example:

(822) a. *kumaar*$_i$ *tan̲a-kk-uḷḷee*$_i$ *ciri-tt-aan̲*
Kumar he-dat-inside laugh-pst-3sm
'Kumar laughed within himself.'

b. *kumaar*$_i$ *tan̲a-kk-uḷḷee*$_i$ *ciri-ttu·k* *koṇ-ṭ-aan̲*
Kumar he-dat-inside laugh-vbp hold-pst-3sm
'Kumar laughed within himself.'

It has often been claimed that the auxiliary verb *koḷ* is the marking device for reflexivity in Tamil. However, note that this is only the case in complex sentence constructions, as exemplified by (821). In simplex constructions the occurrence of *koḷ* is often optional, as shown by (822), and the respective clause is interpreted as a reflexive construction irrespective of whether *koḷ* is present or not. In a number of reflexive constructions—depending on the type of the verbal predicate—the auxiliary verb *koḷ* cannot occur at all. Examples are given under (818). However, note that there are also a number of verbal predicates which require the auxiliary verb *koḷ* in a reflexive construction. An example is the verbal predicate *aṭi* 'beat'. Example:

(823) *kumaar*$_i$ *tann-ai*$_i$ *aṭi-ttu·k* * (*koṇ-ṭ-aan*)
Kumar he-acc beat-vbp hold-pst-3sm
'Kumar beat himself.'

5.3 Reciprocality

Reciprocality refers to a clause in which two NPs, both of which have multiple referents, are interpreted as coreferential. One of the devices to indicate reciprocality is to mark one of the two coreferential NPs with multiple referents: while one of the two NPs is realized by a plural or conjoined NP, the other NP is realized by a special expression—the reciprocal. For example, in 'John and Mary love each other' both the subject and object NP are interpreted as coreferential. Whereas the subject NP is realized by a conjoined NP, the object NP is realized by the reciprocal expression 'each other'.

To mark reciprocality, Tamil uses the same device as English does. One of the coreferential NPs is expressed by a reciprocal expression. Reciprocals in Tamil consist of the cooccurrence of two identical nominals, each of which is case marked. The following gender marked numeral or indefinite nominals occur in double occurrence as reciprocal expressions, depending on the person, number, gender and status features of their antecedent.

oruvan 'one/some male person'
orutti 'one/some female person'
oruvar 'one/some person (honorific)'
onru 'one thing, something'

In the following discussion of reciprocals, we will refer to and illustrate the reciprocal only with its variant form marked for epicene gender and honorific status, that is *oruvar* 'one person'. The reciprocal as cooccurrence of two case marked identical nominals can be represented as follows:

(824) *oruvar* + case ... *oruvar* + case

The first occurrence of the nominal *oruvar* takes the case marker according to the semantic role or argument position of the reciprocal NP. That is, case is assigned by the case assigning head of the reciprocal NP, e.g. the verb. We will refer to the first occurrence of *oruvar* as *oruvar*$_1$. Whereas *oruvar*$_1$ receives case by a case assignment rule, *oruvar*$_2$ receives case by a case agreement rule. It agrees in case with the NP the

reciprocal is interpreted as coreferential with, that is with the antecedent of the reciprocal. This observation is due to Amritavalli (1984), based on the same phenomenon in Kannada—a Dravidian sister language of Tamil. We will now illustrate the reciprocal with a few examples. Hereby, the gender marked variant forms of *oruvar* will be given as well:

(825) a. *kumaar-um raajaa·v-um oruvar-ai oruvar*
Kumar-co Raja-co one person-acc one person
paar-tt-aarkaḷ
see-pst-3pl
'Kumar and Raja saw each other.'

b. *avarkaḷ oruvar-iṭam oruvar peec-in-aarkaḷ*
they one person-loc one person talk-pst-3pl
'They talked to each other.'

c. *avarkaḷ oruvan-ukku oruvan oru paricu*
they one male person-dat one male person a gift
koṭu-tt-aarkaḷ
give-pst-3pl
'They gave each other a gift.'

d. *vaṇṭi-kaḷ onr-ooṭu onru mooti·k koṇ-ṭ-atu*
vehicle-pl one-soc one dash-vbp hold-pst-3sn
'The vehicles dashed against each other.'

In the above examples, the first occurrence of the nominal *oruvar*, that is *oruvar*$_1$, takes the accusative case marker in (825a), the locative case marker in (825b), the dative case marker in (825c), and the sociative case marker in (825d), as assigned by the head of the reciprocal noun phrases—that is the verb—in accordance with the semantic role of the noun phrases. That the second occurrence of *oruvar*, that is *oruvar*$_2$, is also case marked and that the respective case marker is in agreement with the one of the antecedent of the reciprocal is not obvious in these examples. In all of the above examples *oruvar*$_2$ occurs in the nominative case, that is the unmarked case. The antecedent of the reciprocal in (825a) to (825d) occurs also in the nominative or unmarked case and, thus, there is case agreement. The following example shows more clearly that *oruvar*$_2$ is also case marked and this is due to the operation of an agreement rule.

(826) *avarkaḷ-ukku oruvar-aal oruvar-ukku·k koopam*
they-dat one person-inst one person-dat anger
va-nt-atu
come-pst-3sn
'They got angry because of each other.'

In (826) *oruvar*$_1$ takes the instrumental case marker according to the semantic role of the reciprocal NP in the sentence. *oruvar*$_2$ is, however, not unmarked for case: it takes the dative case marker. Observe that the antecedent of the reciprocal, the subject NP *avarkaḷ-ukku* appears also with the dative case marker. There is thus case agreement between *oruvar*$_2$ and the antecedent of the reciprocal. When the object NP marked with the accusative case suffix *-ai* occurs as antecedent of the reciprocal expression, *oruvar*$_2$ takes the accusative case marker *-ai*, that is agrees in case with its antecedent. See the following example:

(827) *naan̲ avarkaḷ-ai oruvar-ukku oruvar-ai*
I they-acc one person-dat one person-acc
ar̲imukappaṭutt-in̲-een̲
introduce-pst-1s
'I introduced them to each other.'

Based on the above examples, the reciprocal expression in Tamil appears to be a reduplicated nominal:

(828) [$_{NP}$ [$_{NP}$ *oruvar*$_1$] [$_{NP}$ *oruvar*$_2$]]

However, an inspection of a wider range of data shows that the two nominals *oruvar*$_1$ and *oruvar*$_2$ are not always simply reduplicated, but may cooccur in a discontinous sequence *oruvar*$_1$ + case ... *oruvar*$_2$ + case. Such a discontinous sequence occurs in two types of constructions. First, the two nominals can be separated by a postposition. This is illustrated by the following example:

(829) *avarkaḷ oruvar-in̲ meelee oruvar*
they one person-euph on top of one person
viẓu-nt-aarkaḷ
fall-pst-3pl
'They fell on top of each other.'

In (829) the postposition *meelee* 'on top of' occurs between the two nominals.

Second, the two nominals can also be separated by a noun marked for genitive case. This is illustrated by the following example:

(830) *kumaar-um raajaa·v-um oruvar(-atu) caṭṭai·y-ai*
Kumar-co Raja-co one person-gen shirt-acc
oruvar pooṭ·ṭu·k koṇ-ṭ-aarkaḷ
one person put-vbp hold-pst-3pl
'Kumar and Raja wore each other's shirt.'

In (830) the nominal *oruvar* with genitive case suffix *-atu* is separated from the cooccurring nominal *oruvar* by the head noun of the genitive NP *oruvar-atu*—the noun *caṭṭai*. The reciprocal construction may then be described as follows. The first element, that is *oruvar*$_1$, occurs always in a case marked NP position. In this case, it can occur in the NP position which is an immediate constituent of S, in the NP position of a postpositional phrase, and in the NP position which modifies as genitive NP a head noun. In the latter two cases it is directly followed by a postposition or a head noun. The second element *oruvar*$_2$ follows the postposition or head noun, otherwise it follows the nominal *oruvar*$_1$ directly. *oruvar*$_2$ is thus adjoined to that immediate constituent of S which is or contains the NP postion occupied by *oruvar*$_1$.

Finally note that the reciprocal expression in Tamil can also occur in a non-reciprocal construction. As the example below shows, the reciprocal expression can occur in the dative experiencer subject NP position of an embedded clause, in which case it has the subject of the higher clause as its antecedent:

(831) *kumaar-um raajaa·v-um*$_i$ [*oruvar-ukku oruvar*$_i$
Kumar-co Raja-co one person-dat one person
aaṅkilam teri·y-aa-tu en̲-r̲u] *nin̲ai-tt-aarkaḷ*
English know-neg-3sn say-vbp think-pst-3pl
'Kumar and Raja$_i$ thought that they$_i$ didn't know English.'

5.4
The anaphoric pronoun *taan̲*
Among the various personal pronouns in Tamil, the fourth person pronoun *taan̲* (plural form *taaṅkaḷ*), which does not distinguish gender and refers always to a third person referent, has a particular status: it occurs only as anaphor. For this reason, this pronoun is also referred to as special anaphoric pronoun. The pronoun has a number of interesting properties, which we are going to describe here.

First, there is the subject—antecedent constraint. The antecedent of the pronoun *taan̲* is always the subject of the same or higher clause. Thus in the following example:

(832) *kumaar*$_i$ *raajaa·v-iṭam* *tan̲n̲-ai·p*$_i$ *par̲r̲i·p* *peec-in̲-aan̲*
Kumar Raja-loc he-acc about talk-pst-3sm
'Kumar talked to Raja about himself.'

the pronoun *tan̲n̲-ai* can only refer to the subject NP *kumaar* and, consequently, the clause is not ambigous as the English translation is, but expresses clearly the meaning of 'Kumar talked about himself to Raja'. Similarly in the following sentence

(833) *kumaar*$_i$ *raajaa·v-iṭam* [*taan̲*$_i$ *jey-tt-at-ai·c*]
Kumar Raja-loc he win-pst-nom-acc
con̲-n̲-aan̲
say-pst-3sm
'Kumar told Raja that he had won.'

taan̲, the subject of the nominalized clause, can only refer to the subject NP of the higher clause, that is *kumaar*, but not to the indirect object NP *raajaa·v-iṭam*.

We mentioned already above that in complex sentences, there is an ambiguity when the pronoun *taan̲* occurs as non-subject NP in the embedded clause since the antecedent of the pronoun *taan̲* may be either the subject NP of the embedded clause or the one of the higher clause. See (820) and the following example:

(834) *kamalaa*$_i$ [*avan̲*$_j$ *tan̲n̲-ai*$_{i,j}$ *ver̲u-kkir̲-aan̲* *en̲-r̲u*]
Kamala he he/she-acc hate-pres-3sm say-vbp
nin̲ai-tt-aaḷ
think-pst-3sf
'Kamala thought that he hated her/himself.'

Finally the pronoun *taan̲* can also occur in nominative case form as appositive NP to the subject in order to emphasize the subject NP. Hereby it occurs with the emphatic clitic *-ee*. See the following examples:

(835) a. *tirutar-kaḷ* *taaṅkaḷ-ee* *katav-ai·p* *puuṭṭ-in̲-aarkaḷ*
thief-pl they-emph door-acc lock-pst-3pl
'The thieves themselves locked the door.'

b. *maaṇavar-kaḷ* *taaṅkaḷ-ee* *taṅkaḷ-ai* *aṭi-ttu·k*
student-pl they-emph they-acc beat-vbp
koṇ-ṭ-aarkaḷ
hold-pst-3pl
'The students themselves hit themselves.'

Note that in (835b) the pronoun *taaṅkaḷ* occurs twice in a clause: once as nominal in apposition to the subject NP and once as reflexive object NP.

5.5
Null anaphora

The term null anaphora refers to the situation in which an argument, e.g. subject or object, is not overtly expressed by a phonologically realized NP. This is illustrated by the following examples:

(836) a. *avarkaḷ* *aṭi-pp-aarkaḷ*
they beat-fu-3pl
'They will beat (me, you, him, her, them, one).'

b. *avan̲-ai* *aṭi-pp-aarkaḷ*
he-acc beat-fu-3pl
'(They) will beat him.'

c. *aṭi-pp-aarkaḷ*
beat-fu-3pl
'(They) will beat (me, you, him, her, them, one).'

In (836a) the object argument is non-overt. In (836b) the subject argument is non-overt, while in (836c) both the subject and the object argument are non-overt. As shown by the English translations—in English the non-overt arguments of the Tamil sentences have to be overtly expressed by pronouns—the non-overt arguments in Tamil are understood as having either definite or indefinite reference, depending on the context. In the case of a non-overt subject argument, the person, number, gender, and status of the subject NP is recoverable form the agreement marker on the finite verb, the pronominal suffix.

In Tamil, non-overt arguments, can occur with any grammatical function, that is subject, direct object, indirect object, and oblique. In the following example, the three arguments with subject, indirect object and direct object function are not overtly expressed in the b. sentence:

(837) a. *niinkaḷ kumaar-ukku anta·p pustaka-tt-ai·k*
you(pl) Kumar-dat that book-obl-acc
koṭu-tt-iirkaḷ-aa
give-pst-2pl-Q
'Did you give that book to Kumar?'

b. *aamaa, koṭu-tt-eeṉ*
yes give-pst-1s
'Yes, (I) gave (it) (to him).'

5.6 Clefting

What is called clefting or pseudo-clefting in English is realized in Tamil by a two-fold operation:

- nominalization of the finite verb, and
- marking of the emphasized constituent, which must be an immediate constituent of the clause, by the emphatic clitic *-taaṉ*.

Optionally, the emphasized constituent can be moved over the nominalized verb.

The below given examples illustrate clefting in Tamil. Whereas the a. sentences give the unclefted version of a clause, the b. sentences give the clefted version without movement and the c. sentences give the clefted version with movement.

(838) clefting of subject NP
a. *kumaar neeṟṟu inkee va-nt-aaṉ*
Kumar yesterday here come-pst-3sm
'Kumar came here yesterday.'

b. *kumaar-taaṉ neeṟṟu inkee va-nt-atu*
Kumar-emph yesterday here come-pst-nom
'It was Kumar who came here yesterday.'

c. *neeṟṟu inkee va-nt-atu kumaar-taaṉ*
yesterday here come-pst-nom Kumar-emph
'It was Kumar who came here yesterday.'

(839) clefting of object NP
a. *kumaar raajaa·v-ai·k kuuppiṭ·ṭ-aaṉ*
Kumar Raja-acc call-pst-3sm
'Kumar called Raja.'

b. *kumaar raajaa·v-ai·t-taaṉ kuuppiṭ·ṭ-atu*
Kumar Raja-acc-emph call-pst-nom
'It was Raja that Kumar called.'

c. *kumaar kuuppiṭ·ṭ-atu raajaa·v-ai·t-taaṉ*
Kumar call-pst-nom Raja-acc-emph
'It was Raja that Kumar called.'

(840) clefting of postpositional phrase
a. *kumaar viiṭ·ṭu-kku muṉṉaal niṉ-ṟ-aaṉ*
Kumar house-dat in front of stand-pst-3sm
'Kumar stood in front of the house.'

b. *kumaar viiṭ·ṭu-kku muṉṉaal-taaṉ niṉ-ṟ-atu*
Kumar house-dat in front of-emph stand-pst-nom
'It was in front of the house that Kumar stood.'

c. *kumaar niṉ-ṟ-atu viiṭ·ṭu-kku muṉṉaal-taaṉ*
Kumar stand-pst-nom house-dat in front of-emph
'It was in front of the house that Kumar stood.'

(841) clefting of infinitive clause
a. *kumaar [kaaykaṟi vaank-a·k] kaṭai-kku·p poo-ṉ-aaṉ*
Kumar vegetable buy-inf shop-dat go-pst-3sm
'Kumar went to the shop to buy vegetables.'

b. *kumaar [kaaykaṟi vaank-a·t-taaṉ] kaṭai-kku·p*
Kumar vegetable buy-inf-emph shop-dat
poo-ṉ-atu
go-pst-nom
'It was to buy vegetables that Kumar went to the shop.'

c. *kumaar kaṭai-kku·p poo-ṉ-atu [kaaykaṟi*
Kumar shop-dat go-pst-nom vegetable
vaank-a·t-taaṉ]
buy-inf-emph
'It was to buy vegetables that Kumar went to the shop.'

Note that the clitic *-taaṉ* can be replaced by the focus clitic *-ee* or the interrogative clitic *-aa*. In the latter case, interrogative cleft sentences are formed. See the following two examples:

(842) *kumaar maturai·y-il-ee piṟa-nt-atu*
Kumar Madurai-loc-emph be born-pst-nom
'It was in Madurai that Kumar was born.'

(843) *kumaar maturai·y-il-aa pir̲a-nt-atu*
Kumar Madurai-loc-Q be born-pst-nom
'Was it in Madurai that Kumar was born.'

5.7
Topicalization

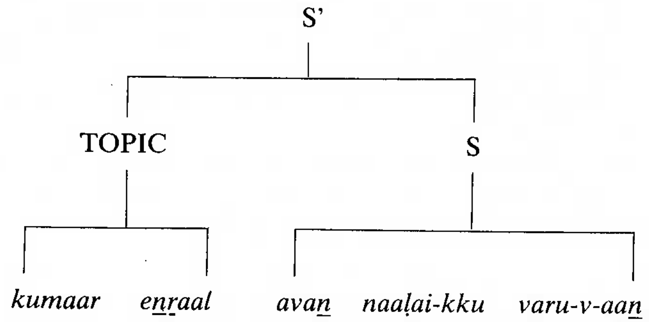
Topicalization in Tamil involves the occurrence of a NP in a sentence peripheral topic position marked with the form *en̲r̲aal* and followed by a sentence which contains a pro-form referring to that NP. Consider the following examples:

(844) a. *kumaar en̲r̲aal avan̲ naaḷai-kku varu-v-aan̲*
Kumar say-cond he tomorrow-dat come-fu-3sm
'As for/speaking of Kumar, he will come tomorrow.'

b. *niiṅkaḷ koṭu-tt-a paṇam en̲r̲aal naan̲ at-ai·k*
you(pl) give-pst-adj money say-cond I it-acc
kaṇṭipp-aaka·t tirupp-i·k koṭu-pp-een̲
definiteness-adv return-vbp give-fu-1s
'As for/speaking of the money you gave, I will definitely give it back.'

c. *uuṭṭi en̲r̲aal aṅkee mikavum kuḷir*
Ooty say-cond there much coldness
'As for/speaking of Ooty, it is very cold there.'

Each of the three sentences consists of a NP unmarked for case, followed by the form *en̲r̲aal*, which is morphologically the conditional form of the verb *en̲* 'say' and which functions here as topic marker, and a clause. The structure of (844a), for example, can be represented as follows:

(845)


Topicalized sentences in Tamil have the property that the clause following the pre-sentential TOPIC element contains always a pro-form which is an anaphor to the NP in the TOPIC position. Thus the following sentence is not acceptable since the clause following the topicalized NP does not contain an anaphor of the NP in TOPIC position:

(846) * *puu en̲r̲aal aṭutta maatam mallikaippu*
flower say-cond next month jasmine flower
kiṭai·kk-aa-tu
be available-neg-3sn
'As for/speaking of flowers, next month there won't be jasmine flowers available.'

5.8
Quantifier movement

Quantifiers and cardinal numerals occur as noun modifiers usually in the pre-nominal position. Optionally, however, all quantifiers and cardinal numerals can also be transposed over the head noun to the post-nominal position. Hereby, they are not only simply transposed, but also nominalized, and occur thus as post-nominals in apposition to the head noun. Since cardinal numerals have already the categorical status of nouns, they do not need to be nominalized. The same applies to a few quantifiers such as *ivvaḷavu* 'this much', etc. The only exception to this process is the quantifier *nir̲aiya* 'much', which is only transposed, but not nominalized. Note that the transposition of quantifiers and numerals occurs within the noun phrase, as shown by the following representation:

(847) $[_{NP}$ Q/NUM N$]$ $\rightarrow$ $[_{NP}$ N NP$]$

Note further that when quantifiers and numerals are transposed over the head noun and occur as post-nominals, it is they which take the case marker of the NP and not the head noun. The following examples will illustrate this:

(848) a. *kumaar* $[_{NP}$ *nir̲aiya pustakam*$]$ *vaaṅk-in̲-aan̲*
Kumar many book buy-pst-3sm
'Kumar bought many books.'

b. *kumaar* $[_{NP}$ *pustakam nir̲aiya*$]$ *vaaṅk-in̲-aan̲*
Kumar book many buy-pst-3sm
'Kumar bought many books.'

(849) a. [$_{NP}$ *ellaa mara-tt-il-um*] *ilai-kaḷ iru-kkir̲-atu*
all tree-obl-loc-incl leave-pl be-pres-3sn
'There are leaves on all trees.'

b. [$_{NP}$ *maram ellaa-tt-il-um*] *ilai-kaḷ iru-kkir̲-atu*
tree all-obl-loc-incl leave-pl be-pres-3sn
'There are leaves on all trees.'

(850) a. *kumaar* [$_{NP}$ *ittan̲ai viiṭ-ṭu-kku*] *vari kaṭṭ-a*
Kumar this many house-dat tax pay-inf
veeṇṭ-um
want-fu+3sn
'Kumar has to pay tax for this many houses.'

b. *kumaar* [$_{NP}$ *viiṭu ittan̲ai-kku*] *vari kaṭṭ-a*
Kumar house this many-dat tax pay-inf
veeṇṭ-um
want-fu+3sn
'Kumar has to pay tax for this many houses.'

(851) a. *kumaar* [$_{NP}$ *pala koovil-ukku-p*] *poo-n̲-aan̲*
Kumar many temple-dat go-pst-3sm
'Kumar went to many temples.'

b. *kumaar* [$_{NP}$ *koovil pala-v-ar̲r̲u-kku-p*] *poo-n̲-aan̲*
Kumar temple many-obl-dat go-pst-3sm
'Kumar went to many temples.'

(852) a. *kumaar* [$_{NP}$ *muun̲r̲u viiṭ-ṭu-kku*] *vaaṭakai kaṭṭu-kir̲-aan̲*
Kumar three house-dat rent pay-pres-3sm
'Kumar pays rent for three houses.'

b. *kumaar* [$_{NP}$ *viiṭu muun̲r̲u-kku*] *vaaṭakai kaṭṭu-kir̲-aan̲*
Kumar house three-dat rent pay-pres-3sm
'Kumar pays rent for three houses.'

Annamalai (1969) notes that when a quantifier or numeral is transposed over a rational noun, the quantifier is not nominalized morphologically, but by the insertion of the noun *peer* '(number of) persons', which does not have the distribution of ordinary nouns and occurs as a sort of nominalizing form. See the following examples:

(853) a. [$_{NP}$ *nir̲aiya maaṇavar-kaḷ*] *va-nt-aarkaḷ*
many student-pl come-pst-3pl
'Many students came.'

b. [$_{NP}$ *maaṇavar-kaḷ nir̲aiya peer*] *va-nt-aarkaḷ*
student-pl many person come-pst-3pl
'Many students came.'

(854) a. *kumaar* [$_{NP}$ *cila naṇpar-kaḷ-ooṭu*] *caṇṭai pooṭ-ṭ-aan̲*
Kumar few friend-pl-soc quarrel put-pst-3sm
'Kumar quarrelled with a few friends.'

b. *kumaar* [$_{NP}$ *naṇpar-kaḷ cila peer-ooṭu*] *caṇṭai*
Kumar friend-pl few person-soc quarrel
pooṭ-ṭ-aan̲
put-pst-3sm
'Kumar quarrelled with a few friends.'

Finally note that the nominalization of quantifiers with *peer* shows that the nominalized quantifiers are not nouns but nominals in apposition to the head noun.

5.9
Reported speech

The most common form of reporting an utterance in Tamil is the embedding of a clause (i) with the complementizing verb form *en̲-r̲u* before a verb of verbal utterance, such as *collu* 'say', or *keeḷ* 'ask', or (ii) without a complementizing verb form before the verb *en̲* 'say'. Whereas in many languages, e.g. English, direct and indirect speech are clearly and unambiguously distinguished, in Tamil such a distinction is not clear-cut. It follows that Tamil does not have a conversion of direct speech report into indirect speech report, as many languages have. In Tamil an utterance can be embedded in the same way as it was actually uttered by a speaker as a direct quote and can also be embedded from the point of view of the reporting speaker as an indirect quote. In the majority of cases, however, an utterance is reported in a form which is partly direct and partly indirect speech. Since the speech report is thus both direct and indirect, the terms 'reportive' (Shanmugam Pillai, 1968) or reported speech are preferable to the terms direct or indirect speech in Tamil. We will first illustrate an example of reported speech which is

clearly marked for direct speech. Such an example occurs only when the reported utterance is an imperative sentence and quoted as such:

(855) *kumaar* [[*aintu maṇi-kku vaa-ṅka*] *eṉ-ṟu*] *coṉ-ṉ-aaṉ*
Kumar five hour-dat come-imp+pl say-vbp say-pst-3sm
'Kumar said: "Come at five o'clock".'

Here the reported speech is unambigously the actual utterance of the speaker *kumaar*. We will now illustrate an example of reported which is clearly marked for indirect speech. Suppose A is talking about B and says to C:

(856) *avar* (B) *uur-ukku·p poo-kiṟ-aar*
he town-dat go-pres-3sh
'He (B) goes out of town.'

If the addressee C reports this utterance to B himself, he may say:

(857) *avaṉ* (A) [[*niiṅkaḷ* (B) *uur-ukku·p poo-kiṟ-iirkaḷ*]
he you(pl) town-dat go-pres-2pl
eṉ-ṟu] *coṉ-ṉ-aaṉ*
say-vbp say-pst-3sm
'He (A) said that you (B) would go out of town.'

which is a reported speech totally marked for indirect speech. The only clear case of an indirect speech is then when A makes an utterance about B to C and C reports this utterance by A about B to B.

Although we have now seen two clear cases of direct and indirect speech report, the majority of cases of reported speech exhibits two properties which make the reported speech to a report which is both direct and indirect. First, the verbal predicate of the utterance is reported unchanged, that is, as it was actually uttered, and second, elements such as time adverbials, indirect objects, and possessive nominals are reported changed from the point of view of the reporter. As a consequence, the reported utterance is partly reported in unchanged form, that is direct report, and partly reported in unchanged form, that is indirect report. The following example will illustrate this. Suppose A says to B:

(858) *naaḷai naaṉ uṅkaḷ-ukku uṅkaḷ paṇa-tt-ai·t*
tomorrow I you(pl)-dat you(pl, obl) money-obl-acc
taru-kiṟ-eeṉ
give-pres-1s
'Tomorrow I will give you your money.'

If B reports now this utterance to a third person C, he will have to say:

(859) [[*naaḷai eṉa-kku eṉ paṇa-tt-ai·t taru-kiṟ-eeṉ*]
tomorrow I-dat I(obl) money-obl-acc give-pres-1s
eṉ-ṟu](A) *coṉ-ṉ-aaṉ*
say-vbp say-pst-3sm
'(A) said that he would give me the money tomorrow.'

Notice that the verbal predicate of the reported speech is the same as in the actual utterance. It is marked with the pronominal suffix of first person, as if in direct speech. The indirect object and the possessive nominal, however, are changed from the actual utterance and this according to the view point of the reporting speaker:

uṅkaḷ-ukku → *eṉa-kku*
uṅkaḷ → *eṉ*

Suppose B reports the utterance on the next day, the time adverbial would also have to be changed:

naaḷai → *iṉṟu* (today)

5.10
Usages of the verb *eṉ*

It has been mentioned above that the verb *eṉ* 'say, think' displays a number of unique properties among Tamil verbs for which reason it is also used as complementizing verb. Moreover, more than any other verb, the verb *eṉ* (and also the verb *aaku* 'become') is used with its various verb forms for syntactic reanalysis to form words belonging to a separate syntactic category, such as adverbs, postpositions, etc. The role of *eṉ* as a complementizing verb has been discussed in detail above under 4.60-65. In the following we will present additional cases of occurrence, as well as other usages, apart from those in complementation.

It has already been stated above that the verbal participle form *eṉ-ṟu* embeds a finite clause as complement to cognitive verbs. The same form embeds also a finite clause as causal or purposive adverbial clause. In this case the form *eṉ-ṟu* expresses a causal and purposive relation between two clauses. In both cases, the lexical meaning of *eṉ*, that is here 'think', is partly transparent: the cause is interpreted as causal assumption and the purpose as intention. This is illustrated by the following examples:

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(860) [[*naan̲ kumaar-ai·t tiṭṭ-in̲-een̲*] *en̲-r̲u*] *avan̲*
I Kumar-acc scold-pst-1s say-vbp he
enn̲-iṭam peec-a maaṭṭ-aan̲
I-loc talk-inf will-3sm
'Because I scolded Kumar, he won't talk with me.'

(861) [[*uṅkaḷ-ai·p paar·kk-al-aam*] *en̲-r̲u*] *va-nt-een̲*
you(pl)-acc see-nom-become+fu+3sn say-vbp come-pst-1s
'I came in order to see you.'

Note that the *en̲-r̲u* form with purposive interpretation requires that the finite predicate of the embedded clause contains the modal verb (form) *-aam* or *veeṇṭu*.

The verbal participle form *en̲-r̲u* functions also as an 'adverbializer', that is, it marks an element as adverbial expression. When *en̲-r̲u* follows a reduplicated verb root or an onomatopoeic expression—the latter consists for the most part of a single or reduplicated verb root, it marks these verb roots as manner adverbials. Examples:

(862) *kumaar inta·p paiyan̲-ai aṭi aṭi en̲r̲u aṭi-tt-aan̲*
Kumar this boy-acc beat beat say-vbp beat-pst-3sm
'Kumar beat this boy severely.'

(863) *taṇṇiir cala cala en̲r̲u ooṭu-kir̲-atu*
water murmur murmur say-vbp run-pres-3sn
'The water runs murmurously.'

When *en̲-r̲u* follows a noun or noun phrase, it marks these elements as role adverbial. Example:

(864) *kumaar aayiram ruupaay lañcam en̲r̲u koṭu-tt-aan̲*
Kumar thousand rupee bribe say-vbp give-pst-3sm
'Kumar gave one thousand rupees as bribe.'

The verbal participle form *en̲-r̲u* occurs also with the function of an open ended set marking particle. In this case it translates as 'etc.' and 'and so on'. Example:

(865) *tiruviẓaa·v-kku oru ruupaay iraṇṭu ruupaay en̲r̲u*
festival-dat a rupee two rupee say-vbp
koṭu-pp-aarkaḷ
give-fu-3pl
'For the festival they will give one rupee, two rupees, etc.'

When following a noun or noun phrase in dative case, the verbal participle form *en̲-r̲u* has the function of a focus clitic, translated as 'especially'. Example:

(866) *uṅkaḷ-ukku en̲r̲u in̲r̲u cameyal cey-t-een̲*
you(pl)-dat say-vbp today cooking do-pst-1s
'Today I cooked especially for you.'

The infinitive form *en̲-a* plus the clitic *-ee*, that is the form *en̲avee*, is syntactically reanalyzed to a sentential adverbial which translates as 'therefore'. The conditional form *en̲-r̲·aal* plus the clitic *-um*, that is the form *en̲r̲aalum*, is categorically reanalyzed to a sentential adverbial which translates as 'however, nevertheless'. Both is illustrated by the following examples:

(867) *kumaar-ukku uṭampu cari·y-aaka ill-ai. en̲avee*
Kumar-dat body O.K.-adv be not-3pln say-inf-emph
avan̲ aapis-ukku var-a·v-ill-ai
he office-dat come-inf-be not-3pln
'Kumar was sick. Therefore, he didn't come to the office.'

(868) *kumaar-ukku uṭampu cari·y-aaka ill-ai. en̲r̲aalum*
Kumar-dat body O.K.-adv be not-3pln say-cond-conc
avan̲ aapis-ukku va-nt-aan̲
he office-dat come-pst-3sm
'Kumar was sick. Nevertheless, he came to the office.'

The infinitive form *en̲-a* is reanalyzed to a postposition expressing comparison 'like, as'. Example:

(869) *kumaar puli en̲a paay-nt-aan̲*
Kumar tiger say-inf jump-pst-3sm
'Kumar jumped like a tiger.'

5.11
Special case of verb reduplication

The predicate of a simple clause can consist of the conditional form of the verb + clitic *-um* and a reduplicated form of the respective verb, which is inflected either for past or future tense or followed by the modal auxiliary form *-aam*.

When the reduplicated verb form is inflected for past tense, the speaker expresses that the action of the following sentence, which is

semantically related to the action of the preceding sentence, e.g. by being a consequence, is not approved by him. Example:

(870) *kumaar oru putu caṭṭai·y-ai vaaṅk-iṉ·aal-um vaaṅk-iṉ-aaṉ.*
Kumar a new shirt-acc buy-cond-incl buy-pst-3sm
atee caṭṭai·y-ai avaṉ ippootu tiṉam pooṭu-kiṟ-aaṉ
same shirt-acc he now daily put-pres-3sm
'Kumar has bought a new shirt. But now he is wearing the same shirt daily.'

When the reduplicated verb form is inflected for future tense, the modality of probability and possibility is expressed. Example:

(871) *kumaar iṅkee va-nt·aal-um varu-v-aaṉ*
Kumar here come-cond-incl come-fu-3sm
'Kumar may come here.'

When the reduplicated verb form occurs with the modal auxiliary form *-aam*, the modality of probability and possibility is, likewise, expressed. However, in comparison with a reduplicated verb form inflected for future tense, a lesser degree of possibility or probability is implied. Example:

(872) *kumaar iṅkee va-nt·aal-um var-al-aam*
Kumar here come-cond-incl come-nom-become+fu+3sn
'Kumar may perhaps come.'

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